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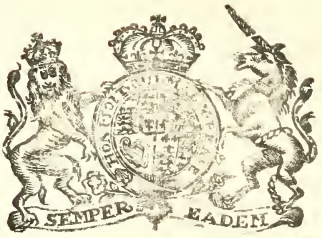

ANNE, R.

WHereas, we are fully ſenſible of the Fidelity and Loyalty of JOHN KER, *of* Kerſland *Eſq; and of the Services he hath performed to Us, and Our Government:* WE *therefore grant him this Our Royal Leave and Licence, to keep Company and Aſſociate himſelf with ſuch as are diſaffected to Us and Our Government, in ſuch Way or Manner as he ſhall judge moſt for Our Service. Given under Our Royal Hand, at Our Caſtle of* Windſor, *the 7th of* July 1707, *and of Our Reign the Sixth Year.*

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THE MEMOIRS OF *John Ker*, of *Kersland* in *North Britain* Esq;

CONTAINING

His Secret Tranſactions and Negotiations in *Scotland*, *England*, the COURTS of *Vienna*, *Hanover*, and other Foreign Parts.

WITH

An ACCOUNT of the Riſe and Progreſs of the *Oſtend* Company in the *Auſtrian Netherlands*.

Publiſhed by Himſelf.

We ſhould not regard any of our Fellow-Subjects as Whigs *or* Tories: *But ſhould make the Man of* Merit *our Friend, and the* Villain *our Enemy.*

ADDISON's *Spect.* N° 125.

LONDON:

Printed in the YEAR M.DCC.XXVI.

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TO THE

Right Honourable

Sir *ROBERT WALPOLE.*

I AM at Length, Sir, prevailed upon through the Importunity of all that know me to Publiſh theſe Memoirs, wherein I have been obliged perhaps to take too particular Notice of ſome Perſons of Honour and Diſtinction, for Coherence ſake only, without which the Narration would not be ſo very plain and intelligible; and if herein I have offended, it is what I could not avoid without either omitting or tranſgreſſing the Truth, which I have told more freely, of my ſelf, than any Body elſe.

My

My inviolable Attachment to the *Hanover* Succeſſion and Revolution Principles, wherein I was Educated, prevailed with me to do many Things in Favour of that Intereſt, which I am now ſenſible were not altogether compatible with my Duty, either to God or my Country; for though at that time I firmly believed the Preſervation of our Religion and Liberties depended upon Eſtabliſhing the Succeſſion in that Line, which there was no other way to Effect but by the Union. Yet I have ſince diſcovered ſo much of the Artifice of Man intermixed therewith, that it was next to an Impoſſibility to act in Concert with a Preſervation of the Actor's Integrity.

No doubt I have diſguſted the *German* Miniſters; and perhaps ſome carping Criticks, who love *Foreigners* better than I do, will ſay, I have been too ſevere upon them; and ten to one will object, that if I had been better uſed I had been ſtill ſilent, and that the ill Treatment I received from them hath prompted me to what may look like Reſentment.

It

It is true, Human Nature is ſubject to Flattery, and is often blinded with Self-Intereſt ; and for my part, I have no Pretences to Perfection, but I declare it is the Height of my Ambition to be ſenſible, when I depart from my Duty, and to make all the Acknowledgment I can.

It is natural for every Man to vindicate and defend himſelf, if poſſible ; and I know no other way to do it, than by telling real Matters of Fact ; and only ſuch as I know, without the leaſt Partiality in my Obſervations ; and upon a ſerious Peruſal of which, it will be found, that I have not charged any Man unjuſtly. Nevertheleſs, having in a particular manner been moſt notoriouſly aſperſed my ſelf, for laying the Foundation of the Emperor's *Eaſt-India Company*, I think my ſelf obliged to ſet Things in a fair Light, and have therefore ſubjoined a full Account of that new Settlement, demonſtrating, that there was Pains enough taken to prevent the Damages we are like to ſuffer from it (though to no purpoſe) the Gentlemen of our *Eaſt-India Company* rejecting

jecting my Propoſals for Reaſons beſt known to themſelves, which I wiſh may be good. I pretend not to teach them their Duty; to correct or preſcribe Laws to them: But they muſt not take it ill, if I endeavour to convince the Publick, that my *Negotiations* therein were well meant; and if any Thing had been done amiſs, even That by the Methods I propoſed might have tended to their Advantage.

One Thing I can anſwer for, which all who know me will allow, that Money was never my Maſter; it was never the moſt powerful Argument to prevail with me, nor any Motive or Conſideration whatſoever either to approve or conceal what ſome People have done to the Prejudice and Diſhonour of *Great-Britain.*

The Inconveniencies which attend moſt Authors, might have juſtly diſcouraged me from appearing in Print; beſides the want of a proper *Engliſh* Style, and handling the Subject perhaps with an uncommon Plainneſs. Though if your Honour will be pleaſed to forgive me the Freedom of this Addreſs, I hereby promiſe

miſe not to be again troubleſome in the like manner. Yet at the ſame time I have the Vanity to Flatter my ſelf, as moſt Authors do, that ſome People will be pleaſed with what they find here, becauſe many Things are diſcovered, which have hitherto been Secrets; or rather which few People ever knew but my ſelf, and conſequently I am forced to be an Author, whether I will or no.

EVERY Reader muſt certainly be pleaſed with knowing what hath been ſo long concealed to all the World; and the Merchant and Trader with what he will find in my Account of the *Oſtend* Company; which Notices, I believe, they will all agree with me ſhould be publiſhed, and I hope therefore the Digreſſions, concerning my preſent Misfortunes, and my Solitude, will be pardoned; at leaſt, ſince I am not to hope for any Relief, unleſs your Honour's favourable Regard turn the Current of my adverſe Fate, and retrieve the great Damage I have ſuſtained in my Fortune by ſerving His Majeſty.

I ALSO propoſe by the Publication another Advantage, to be in ſome Meaſure reſtored to the Favour of thoſe, who have been diſobliged and taken Offence from their want of knowing thoſe Facts which I have now brought to Light: For though I have been, as it were, buried in Oblivion for ſome time paſt, yet my Sufferings are not occaſioned through any wilful Miſtakes of my own, as may eaſily be perceived; and though I have been thus *treated*, yet under your Honour's Patronage will I not *Deſpair*.

I AM very ſenſible I ought to make an Apology for prefixing your Name, to theſe Papers, as alſo for not ſooner making them Publick: And I hope my Reaſons for the latter, will in a great Meaſure vindicate me from a Charge of Preſumption in the former; for till that happy *Revolution at Court*, which delivered us, from the Inſolence of Foreigners, (which I have as fully as was proper for me explained in theſe Memoirs,) Truth might have proved one of the moſt dangerous Crimes; and as the whole Kingdom in general owe their

their preſent Felicity to the Steadineſs of your Exemplary Conduct and Reſolution for the Publick Good; ſo this humble Attempt of mine to open the Nation's Eyes could not with Juſtice be aſcribed to any other Name than that of WALPOLE. I am

SIR,

Your moſt obedient

humble Servant,

KER *of* Kerſland.

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All printed for HENRY CURLL in the *Strand*.

A

LETTER

Sent on Reading the

Following *MEMOIRS.*

SIR,

I here return you the Sheets that you committed to my Peruſal, which I have read over with a deal of Pleaſure; they contain a large Field of Novelty; and of that too, a vaſt Variety. Whether we impute the Original of writing Memoirs *to* Cæſar, *or allow the People he wrote of, to be the Inventors: I will be bold to ſay, this* Author *has not followed any old Track, but has laid out a Road of his own, which, tho broad as the antient* Watling-ſtreet, *few, like him, will be ſincere enough to chuſe for Travelling on. He is indeed ſevere upon others; but, at the ſame time, lays an Embargo on their Cenſures for it, by his greater Severities upon himſelf. And, certainly, that Perſon who treats his own Actions with ſuch a freedom of Blame, cannot reaſonably be ſuppoſed to write for the Vanity of Writing, ſo much as for the ſake of Truth. Neither, are his Tranſactions trifling, or his Remarks im-momentous: But, as*

the one carry all along a Face of Importance, the other are commonly, neceſſarily explanative. Men and Manners ſeem to have been his Study, even to the Riſque of his Fortune: After ſaying which, it may not be improper to offer to the World ſome Account of the Writer; *and that with the ſame freedom with which he has made to the World, an Offering of his* Memoirs.

SAYS my Friend in the Account now before me, The Author of theſe *Memoirs*, (whoſe Name originally, was, *John Crawfurd*) was born in the Family-Houſe of *Crawfurdland*, the 8th of *Auguſt*, 1673, being of the Ancient Family of the *Crawfurds*, of *Crawfurdland*; one of the Eldeſt and beſt Reſpected Families of a Commoner in the Shire of *Ayre*, in *North-Britain*; and which pretends (with ſome Face of Juſtice) to be the Chief of the Clan of the *Crawfurds*.

HIS Grand-father, *John Crawfurd*, of *Crawfurdland*, was a very Gallant Gentleman; renowned for his Worth, Integrity, and Courage: He ſignalized himſelf in the *Civil Wars*, betwixt the King and Parliament, taking part with the latter, till the barbarous Murder of *King* CHARLES I. After which, he commanded a Regiment of Horſe in the Service of CHARLES II. againſt the Uſurper *Cromwell*; in which Poſt, he gave many Signal Proofs of his Conduct and Bravery: And particularly at the Battle of *Hamilton*, in the Year 1651: Where he and the Colonels, *Ker*, and *Ralſton*, had certainly ruined *Cromwells* Cavalry, commanded by General *Lambert*, had they not been deſerted in a cowardly manner by Colonel *Hackett*. He died in the Year 1685. HIS

His Father, *Alexander Crawfurd*, was a Gentleman, eminent for his great Integrity and Learning; universally beloved, as a worthy *Patriot*, who devoted his whole Time to the Service of his Country, and Countrymen; in composing of Differences among Neighbours; for which his Skill in the Laws, co-operating with his Inclination, excellently qualified him. He was Master of a solid Judgment, great Probity and Affability; Qualifications sufficient to procure him Popularity without aiming at it. Nevertheless, in the Reign of *King* CHARLES II. notwithstanding his Father's Services, he suffered very much, his Principles being *Presbyterian*; tho' extreamly charitable to such as differed in Opinion. *King* JAMES VII of *Scotland*, and of *England* II. offered to make him one of the Lords of Council and Session, and Justiciary in *Scotland*; if he would agree to the taking off the *Penal Laws:* But perceiving the dangerous Bait, and that such a Compliance must consequently tend to the introduction of *Popery*; tho' a *Dissenter*, and as such lying equally under the Severity of those Laws with the *Papist*, he rejected the Offer, and sacrificed his Ambition to the true Interest of his Country. He Died in the Year 1714, and left a very good Estate to his Son, *John Crawfurd*, our Author who had in the Year 1693, married a Daughter of the Family of *Kersland*; a Family in *Scotland*, as well Ancient as Honourable; and Chief of the Great and Numerous Clan of the *Kers*. According to the Custom of that Country, after the Death of his Brother in Law, who was killed at the Battle of *Steinkirk* in *Flanders*, in the the Year 1692, leaving no Heirs Male behind him, he thereupon

thereupon aſſumed the Surname, Title, and Arms of the Houſe of *Kerſland*,

Whoever reads his Memoirs, *will without Difficulty, allow him to have been a Man of Reading and Capacity*; *and that for Negotiacions of the niceſt Nature. Corruption and Bribery ſeems no way to have been his* Foible; *and even where his Zeal foreſtalled his Judgment, amidſt his Penitence, you will find him impoſing on himſelf, with the Severity of* Judge *and* Jury. *At leaſt this may be rationally affirmed of him*; *That every Relation of his, carries along with it ſelf-evident Tokens of its own Veracity*; *ſince in Juſtice to his Reader, he Contradicts a known* Maxim, *in both* Civil *and* Common-Law, *while he* Accuſes himſelf, *and Pleads* Guilty *before* Arraignment. *But I will no longer keep the Reader from a Pleaſure you have imparted to me, and therefore Subſcribe without farther Ceremony*,

Your moſt humble Servant,

Surrey May 20
1726.

PHILALETHES.

THE

THE MEMOIRS OF *John Ker*, Esq;

UPON the Restoration, the Government of the *Kirk* of *Scotland* was abolished, and that of *Episcopacy* established by Act of Parliament, and consequently the *Presbyterians* being driven out of their Churches, Assembled in great Numbers in the Fields, where they exercised their Religious Worship, which provoked the Civil Government to Persecute them with such Violence, as could neither be Justified by Religion or Humanity.

THE more the Government was Incensed, the more the *Presbyterians* were Confirmed in their Principles and Resolutions. The Duke of *Lauderdale*, who then sat at the Helm, perceiving their Numbers rather to increase, than diminish, with great Skill and Industry divided them, by obtaining an Act of Indulgence from King *Charles*,

which was so cunningly contrived, as he was sure many of them would reject it.

THE *Duke*'s Scheme answered his Intention, for the most part of their Preachers accepted the Indulgence, who were consequently followed by the greatest Body of their Disciples, whilst their *Dissenting Brethren* declaimed against them at their Publick and Private Conventicles, in the Fields, in their Sermons, and every where, Charging them with an impious Breach of Covenant, and Violating the Fundamental Rules of *Presbytery*, which, they thought indispensably Obliged them rather to Sacrifice their Lives, than recede from the least Article of their Faith.

THE Breach soon grew so wide, that both Sides with Aversion and Hatred, shunned one another's Conversation; And by different Views were utterly deprived of that mutual Confidence and Advice, which had been of such vast Importance to them.

THE Government having got their Ends, in thus weakning the *Presbyterians*, renewed the Persecution against the *Dissenters*, whose tender Consciences could not Submit to the Indulgence, which drove the Poor unwary People to the Extremity of taking Arms against the King, *Anno* 1666. Whereupon they unanimously gathered together, and Advancing towards *Edinburgh* in a Military manner, they were Defeated at *Pentland* by the King's Forces, Commanded by General *Dalzeel*.

MY Father-in-Law, *Robert Ker*, of *Kersland*, whom I have now the Honour to Represent, was one of the Chief Persons concerned in this Insurrection, who, having thereby forfeited his Estate, retired into *Holland*, his Estate being given to Lieutenant General *Drummond*; which he and his Heirs possessed till the *Revolution*, when the Heirs of *Kersland* were restored by Act of Parliament, *Anno* 1689.

I hope the Reader will pardon me for taking up any part of his Time with the private Matters of my own Family; but as it cannot well be avoided, I shall mention them as little as possible in the following *Memoirs*.

UPON this Rebellion much Blood was shed, both in Fields, and upon Scaffolds; but the severity was so far from extirpating these People, that it rather added, both to their Numbers and Zeal: They were afterwards called *Cameronians*, from *Richard Cameron*, an eminent Preacher among them, who was killed at *Aires-Moss*, with his Sword in his Hand, fighting for the Doctrine of Resistance of Self-Defence, which he had all along held forth unto them.

IT is with Reluctance I trouble the Reader with any Particulars of the Cruelties of these Times, since it naturally leads me to expose some People who were at the Helm in that Reign, having no Pleasure to rake into the Ashes of the Dead: But were I altogether Silent, I should be accountable for the Odium I must thereby bring upon those who suffered in *Scotland*, meerly for Conscience

ſake; who muſt conſequently be reckoned, by Strangers, to be very turbulent People, by their frequent Inſurrections againſt the Government.

I muſt therefore in Juſtice, mention a few, out of a great many Inſtances of this kind, whereby the impartial Reader will eaſily ſee who was in the Right, and who in the Wrong; and perhaps be convinced with me, that the Miniſtry induſtriouſly forced the *Cameronians* to Rebel, whereby they might find ſome pretext or other to deſtroy them.

Anno 1678, An Army of *Highlanders* was raiſed under the Command of the Marqueſs of *Athol*, the Earls of *Mar*, *Strathmore* and *Brodalbine*, who were ſent to the *Weſt* of *Scotland*, there to Plunder and live at Diſcretion, upon the Effects of thoſe poor People, who could not reconcile to their Conſciences the Oaths tendred unto them.

THIS *Highland* Hoſt Quartered and exacted Contributions at Pleaſure, till they forced the *Cameronians* to a new Inſurrection in *May* 1679, when being Aſſembled at a Field-Conventicle, one Colonel *Graham*, afterwards Viſcount of *Dundee*, with a Party of Horſe and Dragoons, Attacked them at *Drumclog*, where he was Defeated, and a great many of his Men killed.

THE *Cameronians* fluſhed with this Succeſs, but dreading another Aſſault, gathered together Five Thouſand Foot, and Sixteen Hundred Horſe, which ſo alarmed the Government, that the Duke of *Monmouth* was ſent down to Command the Regular

gular Forces in *Scotland*, whereupon followed the fatal Skirmish at *Bothwel-Bridge*; Fatal to many an honest Gentleman in that Kingdom, who unfortunately were upon the Head of that Insurrection, and thereby incurred a new Forfeiture of Life and Fortune; which, notwithstanding the Act of Parliament at the Revolution, reversing those Forfeitures, and ordaining Restitution, still affects some Gentlemen who then forfeited, because their Estates were given by the Crown to Colonel *Cornwal*, Sir *Theophilus Ogelthorp*, and General *Main*, three *English* Men, who never having any of their Effects in *Scotland*, could not be reached by the Laws of that Nation: Nevertheless, Mr. *Gordon* of *Craighlaw*, Mr. *Gordon* of *Earlstown*, Mr. *Cockran* of *Waterside*, Mr. *Ferguson* of *Caillock*, Mr. *Martin* of *Cutcloy* and others have been always reckoned among the Loyalest Subjects, since King *William* of Glorious Memory came to the Crown; who from that Year 1679, have laboured under insuperable Difficulties (which all others, who then forfeited, were relieved from) without any probability of Reparation, as much as if the Forfeiture had never been reversed, notwithstanding all the Representations that hath been made of their Case, not only to the Government, and Mr. *Cornwal* himself; but by the Parliament also recommended to the Crown, and even in spite of the Union too.

BUT I hope it will not be unacceptable, to let the curious Reader know of a certain Accident, or rather Mistake, which the Duke of *Monmouth* was unhappily guilty of at that Time, and which contributed very much, not only to this Battle,

but even to the downfal of the Duke himſelf, and all the Whig-Party in *England*, which ſeemed then to be very near the ſame Pinacle they are at now.

SHAFTESBURY, and his Party (who every one knows was in the Duke's Intereſt) adviſed the King, that the Duke ſhould have full Power and Authority to grant the *Cameronians*, upon laying down their Arms, what Terms they pleaſed, (for ſuch Capitulations have been ſometimes found Convenient, even to the Crown) which would, no doubt, have exceedingly ſtrengthned that Party in *Scotland*, and Conſequently the Intereſt of the *Whigs* in *England*.

ACCORDINGLY, the Duke upon his Arrival offered ſuch Conditions to the *Cameronians*, as would have made that Party very conſiderable, had they accepted of them: But, unluckily falling out among themſelves, whether they ſhould embrace the Duke's Offer or not, when the two Armies were within view of one another, ſome of them being for, but moſt part of them againſt it, Mr. *Welſh*, one of their Preachers, with 2000 of their beſt Men, who were for Peace, went off, the Day before the Engagement; this forced the Duke, when he ſaw the reſt Obſtinate, to fall upon them, which, if he could have avoided, the Ruin of that Party and the *Whigs* in *England* might have been prevented, which ſoon afterwards went to Wreck, with the Duke himſelf, by the very Means, in a great Meaſure, which *Shaftesbury*, and others had Contrived to preſerve them.

BUT I intend not to trouble my Reader any more with the fatal Consequences of this Engagement, or the Proceedings of the Parliament thereupon, to which the Duke of *York* was sent down Commissioner, *Anno* 1681, *&c.* Only to let him know, that the King a little before his Death, revoked the Indulgence he had formerly granted to the *Presbyterians*, who were thereupon once more expelled their Churches. But being obliged to take Notice of another Insurrection some few Years afterwards, made by the Earl of *Argyll*, it will be Necessary to tell you his Reasons for it; He was Arraigned and Condemned by that Parliament, for explaining an Oath imposed by them called the Test, but making his Escape from the Castle of *Edinburgh* he fled to *Holland*, where he lived till *Anno* 1685. And then landing in the *West-Highlands*, he put himself at the Head of a Number of his Friends and Vassals.

MY Brother, *Daniel Ker*, after the Death of my Father at *Utrecht*, landing also in *Scotland* with the said Earl, repaired to the *South-West*, where the main Body of the *Cameronians* were, and, at their Request, taking the Command upon him, he resolved to join *Argyll* as soon as possible: But some *English* Men of War, coming into our *Western* Seas, cut off the Communication, which obliged the Earl to March about by *Glasgow*, in order to join the *Cameronians* and his other Friends in the *West*, who were all upon their March to meet him: But it is Melancholy to trouble the Reader with the Particulars of that Miscarriage. The Earl falling into the Hands of his Enemies, after his Party was dispersed near

Duntreth, &c. Which not only uſhered in the Death of that great Man, but likewiſe buried the whole Hopes of that Party till the happy Revolution in the Year 1688, under King *William* of Pious and Immortal Memory; I ſhall only beg leave to take Notice of a very odd Accident which happened when the *Cameronians* were upon their March to join *Argyll*, Mr. *Pedin*, another of their Miniſters ſtopping ſuddenly, intreated them to Halt, and after a ſhort Ejaculation, cryed out, we have no Occaſion to go any farther, for the Earl is this Minute fallen a Sacrifice to the fury of his Enemies. Whereupon ſeveral Gentlemen pulled out their Watches to Mark the Time, which was afterwards found to anſwer to a very Minute accordingly, tho' the Earl and they were at leaſt 50 Miles diſtant.

ABUNDANCE of this good Man's Predictions are well known to be already come to paſs, and therefore thoſe People are pretty well aſſured of the Accompliſhment of the reſt. I ſhall only trouble the Reader with one of every ſort; when he was Sick unto Death in the Year 1686, he told his Friends that he ſhould die in a few Days, but having foretold many Things, *ſaid he*, which will require ſome time before they be verified, I will give you a Sign, which will confirm your Expectation that they will as ſurely come to paſs, as thoſe you have already ſeen accompliſhed before your Eyes; I ſhall be decently buried by you, and if my Body be ſuffered to reſt in the Grave where you ſhall lay it, then I have been a Deceiver, and the Lord hath not ſpoken by me, but if the Enemy come a little afterwards to take it up and carry

carry it away to Bury it in an ignominious Place, then I hope you will believe that God Almighty hath spoken by me, and consequently there shall not one Word fall to the Ground.

ACCORDINGLY, in a few Days he died, and was buried in the Church of *Auchinleck*, in the Shire of *Air*, and in a little time afterwards came a Party of *Dragoons* and took up his Body, which they carried to *Cumnock*, not far distant, and buried it under the Gallows, where his Ashes remain to this Day, and whereupon the *Cameronians* have erected a Monument.

THE next I shall trouble the Reader withal (which I shall leave to his own Judgment whether it be come to pass or not, as he thinks fit to apply it, and shall not trouble him with any more such, for I will not pretend to determine it) was part of a Sermon wherein he foretold, that in a very few Years after his Death there should be a mighty Alteration of Affairs in both Nations, and the Persecution in *Scotland* should cease, upon which every Body will believe, that their Deliverance is come, and consequently will be fatally secure; but I do tell you, *said he*, that you will be all very much mistaken, for both these Kingdoms are to be scourged by Foreigners, before any of you can pretend to be Happy, which will be a severer Chastisement than any they ever yet have, or can undergo from their own Countrymen.

IT cannot be amiss to mention another Accident that happened betwixt the disappointment of *Argyll*,

Argyll, and the Revolution. After the Duke of *Monmouth* and that Earl's Death, King *James* supposing he was firmly established on the Throne, endeavoured to restrain the Penal Laws made against *Papists* and *Protestant Dissenters*, no doubt to promote the *Popish* Interest; but missing his Aim in Parliament (for the *Scots* strenuously opposed it) *Anno* 1687, He granted a Toleration to all *Papists* and *Dissenters* in General: whereupon the *Presbyterians* Built Meeting-houses, and in their general Assembly addressed the King with abundance of pretended Loyalty and Allegiance, promising inviolable Adherence to his Interest to the last Drop of their Blood, which how well they performed will appear in the following History.

UPON the Arrival of the Prince of *Orange* in 1688, the regular Forces in *Scotland* were detached thence to Oppose him, having then landed with an Army of 12000 Men in *England*, this gave my Brother, then upon the head of the *Cameronians* an opportunity to leave the Mountains, whither the regular Troops had obliged him and his People to retire, which making good Use of, he over-run the whole Kingdom, seized the Revenues of the Crown in several places, and expelled the Episcopal *Clergy*, from their Churches, in a manner I confess not altogether Commendable, but at a Time which was reckoned an Interregnum, he took upon him as Chief Magistrate, till the Convention of States, when he Marched to *Edinburgh*, but declined all Authority save that of Guarding the said Convention from the Insults of *Jacobites*, who were then very Numerous in Town, and in Concert

Concert with the Lord *Dundee*, who was upon their Head, had at first designed to have forced the Convention of States to declare against the Prince of *Orange*; but despairing of success from the Opposition they were like to meet with from my Brother, and his *Cameronians*, the said Lord retired to the *Highlands*, to raise a greater Party for that End, but they answered not his Intention, his Numbers not exceeding 1500 Foot, and 40 Horse: with which nevertheless, from his singular Conduct, to do Justice to his Memory, he had certainly changed the posture of Affairs, after the defeat of General *Mackay*, and 4000 regular Troops which opposed him at *Killichranky*, had not providence directed that Ball, which put an end to a Life of so great Value to the *Jacobite* Party, which after that dwindled into Nothing.

THE Convention of States Voted, that King *James* had forfeited the Crown, and drew up a kind of Remonstrance, which they called an Instrument of Government, representing the many Hardships they lay under in former Reigns, and so Voted the Prince of *Orange* to Succeed, upon redressing their Grievances, confirming several Priviledges, and Immunities, *&c.* as at large mentioned in the said preliminary Instrument.

THEY likewise Voted to raise some regular Forces, whereof two Battalions of the *Cameronians* where formed into a Regiment, which afterwards, to their great Honour, Distinguished themselves upon several Occasions, particularly at *Dunkell*, where they stood the shock of a superior Number of that *Highland* Army, which

which but a few Days before, as I have told you, beat near four times their Number of *Engliſh* and *Dutch* Forces, under the Command of General *Mackay*. But leſt the Reader ſhould ſuſpect me of Partiality in favour of thoſe brave People, it will not be impertinent to give ſuch a part of their Character, as may enable him to Account for their ſurmounting the utmoſt Difficulties, and even ſeeming Impoſſibilities.

THE *Cameronians* are ſtrictly Religious, and ever act upon that Principle, making the War a part of their Religion, and converting State Policy into Points of Conſcience. They Fight as they Pray, and Pray as they Fight, making every Battle a new exerciſe of their Faith, and believe, that in ſuch a Caſe they are, as it were, under the Banner of Chriſt: if they fall in Battle, they Die in their Calling, as Martyrs to the good Cauſe, and believe that in thus ſhedding their Blood, they finiſh the Work of their Salvation. From ſuch Maxims, and Articles of Faith, the *Cameronians* may be ſlain, never Conquered; great Numbers of them have loſt their Lives, but few or none ever yielded. On the contrary, whenever they believe their Duty or Religion calls them to it, they are always unanimous and ready, with undaunted Spirits, and great Vivacity of Mind, to encounter Hardſhips, attempt great Enterprizes, deſpiſe Danger, and bravely ruſh on to Death or Victory.

WHENCE it is clear thoſe People can never be rooted out, tho' ſo many of them have been Butchered in the Fields, the manner of their Deaths hath Immortalized their Memories, the Fame of their

their Resolution animates the survivors with a glorious Emulation, and the integrity and innocence of their Lives brings them many Converts, by which every loss they sustain is more than supplied, their Party wonderfully increasing by the very Means which seem to destroy it.

NO wonder then from those Principles they ever have the Advantage over the *Highlanders*, whose gallant Actions have nevertheless been recorded on many Occasions, *viz.* The fatal Fields of *Killichrancky*, *Dumblain*, *Glenshield*, &c. but the Valour of the *Highlanders* proceeds from a Notion of Honour common to other Men, and not purely from any particular point of Conscience, so that they may quit the Cause without a Crime, which the *Cameronians* cannot do.

IT will not be improper to give an Account of the present State of *Scotland*, which is divided into three Parties, the *Presbyterian*, *Cameronian*, and *Episcopal*: For these unhappy Divisions have prevented the *Scots* from exerting themselves lately as they used to do long ago, when they had the vanity to say, that a part of the Ballance of *Europe* was in their Hands, and may have at any time again, by the same Means, when they shall be so happy as to bury, and forget their private Views, and party Jarrs, which are the Occasion of their Divisions, and have rendered them so cheap in the Eyes of the World; and when they shall unite like our Predecessors to follow such Measures as will be for the Advantage and Benefit of the whole.

THE *Presbyterians* are those of the established Church,

Church, according to Act of Parliament at the Revolution, being very numerous, but under no Concert among themſelves, farther than their Church Judicatures, to which it is impoſſible to communicate any thing, but what muſt become publick, and are of late not a little weakned by an Accident in the late Reign, when the *Epiſcopal* Party in *Scotland*, ſupported by their Friends in *England*, obtain'd a Toleration. The *Presbyterian* Miniſters, as well as they, were expreſly ordered at the ſame Time to take the Oaths of *Allegiance*, and *Abjuration*, under the Penalty of being excluded *ab Officio & Beneficio*, which, notwithſtanding, near the half of the *Presbyterian* Clergy refuſed, not from any Diſſatisfaction at the Revolution Settlement, or his preſent Majeſty's Acceſſion, but becauſe the Oath referred to an Act of Parliament in *England*, whereby the Sovereign, was obliged to be of the Communion of that Church.

THIS occaſioned great Differences and Animoſities betwixt the Complying and Nonjuring *Preſbyterians*, and very much impaired what Confidence and Harmony they uſed to have, which may, if not prevented by a Spirit of Meekneſs and Charity (rare to be found among Church-Men) prove of dangerous Conſequence in *Scotland*, for the Laity in that Country generally concern themſelves in the Diſputes and Quarrels of the Clergy, with more Zeal than Diſcretion.

THE *Cameronians* Affect that Form of Church Government eſtabliſhed in the Year 1648, when *Presbytery* was at the greateſt Height, *Diſſenting* from the Indulgence granted by King *Charles* II.

the

the Toleration granted by King *James* VII. and the preſent Revolution Eſtabliſhment, they are governed by a general quarterly Meeting compoſed of two Commiſſioners deputed from each Country, and Town, where they live, and whatever is concluded at this Meeting, is a general Rule to the whole; they are cloſer in their Deliberations than the other Parties are, for whatever comes before them is diſputed and concluded without the leaſt Danger of being expoſed, and whatever is ſo reſolved, is accordingly executed with the profoundeſt Secrecy, and Expedition; for the *Cameronians* are always ready under their proper Officers well appointed, and when it is found at their general Meeting to be their Duty, can aſſemble upon the leaſt Notice given them, ſo that tho' they be the feweſt in Number, yet they are in Effect the moſt Conſiderable of the three, for the Commonalty of the *Presbyterians*, who have a wonderful Opinion of their Piety and Virtue, always readily join with them in any Thing that concerns the Publick, which the *Cameronians* encourage and allow, but do not permit them to be Members of their Societies, or to bear any Part in the Conduct of their Affairs.

THEY continue to Preach in the Fields as they did in the Reigns of King *Charles* II. and King *James* II. when the Perſecution was hot againſt them, ſtill retaining the Doctrine of Reſiſtance and Self-Defence, which they never fail to put in Practice when Violence is offered, or when in the leaſt diſturbed in their Worſhip, at their Meetings, or their Conventicles, or elſewhere, by any ſort of Governors or Governments whatſoever:

ſoever: They are peaceable in this Reign, becauſe they are permitted to live quietly, and ſo may be ſaid to be Paſſive under the preſent Adminiſtration, but at the ſame time decline to be any way active in ſupporting it; being in them a mighty Point of Conſcience.

THE *Epiſcopal* Party, whoſe Principles I ſhall not deſcribe farther, than that they are generally in the *Pretender*'s Intereſt, and are near one half of the Nation, among whom are to be reckoned the moſt part of the *Highland Clans*, whoſe Numbers, notwithſtanding their late Misfortunes, are rather increaſed than diminiſhed, for the commiſeration of ſuch, who, with their Families have ſuffered lately, hath brought over ſeveral Converts to that Side.

FROM all which I conclude, that the Prejudice thoſe three Parties bear to one another, is only what makes *Scotland* ſo inconſiderable at Preſent, and conſequently hinders that People from doing what I otherwiſe believe they are inclined to.

BUT to return to the Hiſtory of that Time.

THE Prince of *Orange* embraced the Crown with the Limitations ſtipulated in the aforeſaid Scheme of Government, and wiſely conſidering the Expence of a War with the *Highlanders*, where the Advantage, in Caſe of Victory would not anſwer the Blood, and very great Charges it muſt Coſt, graciouſly ſent them a general Indemnity, and gave them ſuch good Terms as their following Conduct juſtly deſerved from him.

A Foreign War immediately ensuing King *William*'s Accession to the Crown, most part of the Forces in *Scotland* were ordered to *Flanders*, whereof the *Cameronian* Regiment was a part, whom I shall follow no farther than the Battle of *Steinkirk*, *Anno* 1692. where many of that brave Corps exchanged their Lives for immortal Honour, among whom was my Brother-in-law; he left behind him the Character of a great Soldier, a fine Gentleman, and to crown all, a good Christian.

I could wish to stop here, since the Prosecution of the *Memoirs* obliges me to revive a Subject, which, in my serious Hours of Contemplation, plunges me into unaffected Sorrow and Grief, for some Passages that I had much rather conceal.

But as they relate to my own Conduct, I must be just, and acknowledge, that they can never merit this Indulgence.

After my Brother's Death, by marrying his Sister, I was obliged by the Laws and Rules of that Nation to assume the Name, Title and Arms of his Family, in my own Person, and so cultivated a Friendship and good Understanding with the *Cameronians*, who, from my Brother's Death continued very quiet till the Articles of Union were signed at *Westminster*, *Anno* 1706.

But first I must take notice, that the *English* ever since King *James* VI. (unhappily for *Scotland*) succeeded Queen *Elizabeth* to the *English* Throne, have always from mistaken Maxims opposed the Trade and Improvement of *Scotland*,

whatever Wealth and Riches we have there, inevitably centring in *England* ſince that Time: Our Kings have alſo abated much of their Zeal for the Intereſt and Happineſs of their ancient Kingdom, their Revenues being ſettled where their Reſidence is, whereof take the following Inſtance.

It was propoſed in King *Charles* IId's Reign, to eſtabliſh a Fiſhery on the Coaſts of *Scotland*, not without immediate Views of great Succeſs and Advantage; which alarmed the *Dutch*, who juſtly ſuppoſed, that if our Project proſpered, they muſt loſe their great Hopes of continuing to inrich their State by the ſame Advantage. Whereupon they ſo cunningly diſpoſed their Caſh, in order to diſappoint this glorious Scheme, that the King, by the Advice of ſuch as had the Honour to be of his Council, the Duke of *Lauderdale*, &c. perſuaded every one to draw back their Quota's, and ſo ſunk the Stock, and deſtroyed the nobleſt Project that ever was formed to inrich both Kingdoms. Thus the *Dutch*, who juſtly make Trade their beſt Policy, and place all their Strength and Power in their immenſe Riches, had the good fortune for themſelves, to over-reach a People, whoſe aſpiring Minds have a nobler turn than to ſtoop to ſuch mean Artifices of acquiring Wealth, without the dangerous Honour of contending for it; whilſt the *Dutch* ſtick at nothing they can turn a Penny by: Being the *Brokers*, a ſort of Go-between for all *Europe*; who, like the laborious Bee, ſucks Honey from every Flower; and by living upon the Crumbs that fall from our Table, they have almoſt got above-board.

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It is true, The late King *James* very graciously formed a Plan of Trade, and pass'd several Acts of Parliament to favour it; whereby if it had succeeded, much Wealth must have accrued to *Scotland*; but alas! Bigotry soon diverted his Thoughts, destroyed himself, and blasted all our Hopes.

The *Scots* had likewise another Opportunity to get what reasonable Terms they pleased from *England*, had not the over-hot Zeal of the Convention proved too strong for any Views, tho, never so much to the Interest of the Country; but they had the Melancholy Occasion to make good the Proverb of *growing Wise too late*.

However, this Noble Opportunity being lost, they were willing to hope that other Advantages might accrue to them from the Accession of King *William* and Queen *Mary*, which would in some Measure compensate that Loss: To improve this great Good, an Act of Parliament pass'd in *Scotland*, *Anno* 1694. to form a Company for *Africa* and the *Indies*, endowed with many considerable Immunities, whereupon Books were open'd at *Edinburgh*, *Anno* 1696, 400000 *l.* subscribed in a few Days, and Payments followed accordingly; for there was not any want of fine Genius's to devise the Means, or of brave Soldiers to support the Undertaking. The Peace of *Reswick* furnishing us with our own National Troops, returned from the *Netherlands*, whose faithful Service the King had experienced in his Wars in *Flanders*; but conscious Honesty is too often confident, and generous Simplicity easily betray'd.

Thus it fared with the *Scots*, who, upon their Attempt to settle a Colony at *Darien*, a Country only inhabited by *Indians*, and not in the Dominions of any *European* Prince, met with an Order from *England* to their Colonies in *America*, not only to discourage our Trade, but forbidding them to furnish us even with Bread and Water, or other Necessaries of Life, even for Money; by which means scarce 100 returned to *Scotland*, of near 4000 gallant Men who embarked on this Expedition; the rest perished, and thus the glorious Attempt miscarried. A grateful Return for the *Scots* Services in *Flanders*, where they so frequently exposed themselves, and lost their Lives in a brave Defence of *English* Liberty: but when Conquest was not to be had with Honour, destroying an honest People by Famine, it seems, was reconciled to I know not what Consciences.

The *Scots* resenting the loss of so much Blood and Treasure, by means so cruel and unjust, drew up an Address to the King signed by the Nobility, Gentry and Commonalty of that Kingdom, complaining of the unprecedented Hardships they had suffered from the *English*, in open violation of the Law of Nature, of Nations, and of the Land; but having no effect, their Hearts were alienated from the King, and exasperated against the *English*, as a People who struck at the Foundation of their Liberties: Whereupon ceased all their late Animosities, and domestick Jars, which had so divided, and weakned them before; and all seemed to unite in asserting their Rights, and retrieving the Ancient Liberties of their sinking Country, from Foreign and Domestick Enemies; which then did clearly

appear

appear to arise from want of true Patriots to assert their Rights.

Which Consideration alone induced the *Jacobites* in general to qualify themselves for publick Employments, by taking the Oaths appointed by *Act of Parliament*; which, I am convinced, no other Consideration could have persuaded them to do.

Towards the latter-end of King *William*'s Reign, the *English* settled the Succession of their Crown in the Illustrious House of *Hanover*, by Act of Parliament: which whosoever reads, must have the Wisdom of that Assembly in great esteem, the Security of the Nation's Peace and Safety being thereby fixed on a Basis hardly to be shaken; having thereby wisely provided, that none but Natives should be capable of any publick Post in the Kingdom; or so much as being Members of either House of Parliament: as foreseeing the Inconveniencies that must arise from the different Interest to the *Hanoverians*; which would be to draw *Great Britain* in to espouse their Quarrels, and so *create a Burden upon the Nation*, without the least hopes of reaping any thing thereby. *They also Enacted*, That the King should not go out of the Kingdom, lest he should be diverted by Foreign Councils from their Interest; and likewise to prevent vast Sums of Money going out of the Nation, which must necessarily attend such Journies.

The *Scots* at this time unanimously refused to make any *Settlement of their Crown*, tho' I cannot say, it was out of any absolute Dislike to the *Hanoverian* Family; for the *Presbyterian* Party had

no other View by their ſtanding out, but to perſuade the *Engliſh* to thoſe Meaſures their warm Zeal had made them forget to inſiſt upon at the Revolution, well knowing, that upon coming into the *Engliſh* new Eſtabliſhment, they would grant them all the Demands which the *Scots* could inſiſt upon.

I muſt own the *Pretender* had at that Time a very great Party in *Scotland*, but all agreed againſt a Settlement, notwithſtanding the diſtinguiſhing Party-Names of *Jacobite* and *Revolutioner*, which had been in uſe before, being now changed into the diſtinction of the Court and Country Party.

Duke *Hamilton* was at the Head of the laſt, who, in his Management, gave great Proofs of a Wiſe and Steady Conduct; for he not only cemented, but kept them together, tho' compoſed of Men of different Principles and Views; and tho' the Court had made many vain Attempts to corrupt them, they rejected and deſpiſed all their Offers with Scorn and Contempt, and would upon no Terms come into the Succeſſion; openly calling the Court Party, *Traytors* to their Country: So that it was not ſafe either in Town or Country, to appear in the leaſt to favour the Court, or its Abettors; the whole Country being ſo inraged at the *Engliſh*, for what had happen'd ſo lately at *Darien*.

Thus the Court was forced to comply with many things which they had no deſign ſhould ever take effect; particularly the Act of Security

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in *Scotland*; whereby the whole Nation was not only impower'd, but order'd to Rendezvous and Discipline themselves under their own proper Officers, as they themselves should chuse: Whereupon they armed immediately, and rendezvoused at every Parish-Church in the Kingdom twice a Week; which soon brought the whole Nation to such Perfection in Discipline, that they could Exercise by Beat of Drum, and perform their other Parts as well as the regular Troops.

The *English* perceiving the *Scots* were all armed and disciplined, having an Act of Parliament to justify them, were much alarmed, as reckoning it the more terrible, that the *Scots* had not yet come into the Succession. Whereupon the *English* threatned to Impeach the L. *Godolphin*, then Lord High-Treasurer, believing him in concert with the *Scots* Nation in favour of the *Pretender*. *Godolphin* finding himself attacked, had no way to save himself, but by persuading the *Scots* to agree to the *Hanover* Succession; and for that end proposed an UNION as the only Expedient to bring it about; for the *Scots* positively refused to agree to it upon the Limitations that had been propounded.

To understand this the more fully, it is fit I should inform my Reader, that there was a select Number of the Country Party who separated themselves from Duke *Hamilton*, and were distinguished by the Name of the *Squadrone Volante*; consisting of the Dukes of *Montrose*, and *Roxburgh*, Marques of *Tweedale*, Earls of *Rothes*, *Haddington*, and *Marchmont*, and about 30 Commoners,

who ſuſpecting Duke *Hamilton*, was averſe from coming at any Rate, into the Succeſſion, which they wiſhed well to; but were willing to procure the beſt Terms they could from *England* to their Country, therefore they agreed to act ſeparately by themſelves, ſometimes joining with the Duke's Party when it anſwered their Views, and ſometimes the Court Party, when the Duke's Faction ſeemed to puſh Things too far.

The *Squadrone* thus anſwering the ends of *England*, *Queensberry* and his Faction were turned out, having, by what is ſaid, loſt the Friendſhip of the Country, and thereby made incapable of carrying through the Affair of the Succeſſion; which was what the *Engliſh* puſhed ſo vigorouſly, in order to prevent the Inconveniencies that muſt happen, if the *Queen* demiſed before the *Scots* had acceeded to the Succeſſion. Whereupon the Marqueſs of *Tweedale* was made Commiſſioner to the *Scots* Parliament, *Roxburgh* Secretary of State for *Scotland*, and ſeveral other Places of Power and Truſt were put into the Hands of the *Squadrone*; who promiſed to endeavour to ſettle the Succeſſion of the Crown of *Scotland* in the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover*, upon eſtabliſhing the proper Limitations upon the Succeſſor, and ſome other Things to make the People of *Scotland* eaſy, and not doubting of the Aſſiſtance of *Queensberry*'s Party in this Affair, ſince they had vigorouſly puſhed the Intereſt and Views of *England*; but they found themſelves much miſtaken: For when the Parliament met, *Queensberry* did not ſupport them, but left the *Squadrone* to be intirely baffled by D. *Hamilton*'s Party; whereupon the *Engliſh* perceiving they could

could not gain the Succession by the Interest of the *Squadrone*, they were dropped, and *Queensberry* and his Friends replaced; whereupon the Union between the two Nations was projected, the *Squadrone* privately agreeing to it, at the instance of the *Whig Party* of *England*; who nevertheless concealed their true Intentions, till the meeting of the *Scots* Parliament, *October* 1706, when by this strong addition of between 30 or 40 *French* Votes of the *Squadrone*, and the addition of several Votes that then deserted the Country-Party, and joined the Court-Party by the force of prevailing Arguments and Motives so to do; the Balance was quite turned from the Country to the Court Side, as will appear in the Sequel.

Whereupon the Court proposed to the *Scots* Parliament, that a Treaty of Union should be set on foot, which the *English* were very ready to embrace: And also the *Scots*, who affected the House of *Hanover*, wanted nothing, but were ready to come into it upon previous Terms for the good of their Country; but a Dispute arising in the House whether the Queen or the Parliament should name the Commissioners, an unlucky Mistake happen'd, that Duke *Hamilton*, who was at the Head of those, who loved neither the Union, nor the *Hanover* Succession, without giving any Reason for it, at that time suddenly Voted the Queen should have the Nomination.

His Friends and Followers were in the greatest Consternation, and many of them gave their Votes at random, not knowing what they did; whereby it was carried, that the Queen should name

name the Commiſſioners: Upon which, all the Duke's Friends exclaimed at him afterwards, and asked him his Reaſons for ſo doing, which he was pleaſed to deliver in this manner. Had we, *ſaid he*, choſe the Commiſſioners ourſelves, we ſhould have met with no difficulty to name thoſe who would have certainly procured ſuch Terms, as we could not in Honour and Juſtice refuſe; for the Union or War is unavoidable, and though the *Engliſh* may reaſonably think that their Riches, which are the Sinews of War, may hold out longer than ours; yet they are wiſe enough to conſider that we are all ready, and well armed, and therefore to be expected at their very Doors in the heart of *England*, before they can be ſo well prepared for ſuch a Reception, as an highly exaſperated and injured brave People deſerves: This was likewiſe the Opinion of the well-affected Party to the *Hanover* Succeſſion in both Kingdoms. But, *added he*, Gentlemen, I ſuppoſe you are for no Union at any rate, more than I, and that is the reaſon why I gave up the Queſtion at once, and let her Majeſty have the Honour to name the Commiſſioners, which I know would never have been agreed to among us, if we had diſputed it before we went to the Houſe: It is not ſo much out of Compliment to her Majeſty, as to cover the Deſign, which is this. Since her Majeſty has got the Power into her Hands, ſhe will no doubt chuſe ſuch as will accept of whatever Terms *England* pleaſes, let them be never ſo much to the Prejudice and Diſhonour of our Country; which, to be ſure every honeſt *Scotſman* will reſent; and, in that Caſe, I believe you will agree with me, that the Union will hardly take place. Theſe, and ſome

other

other harsh Expressions, were his Grace's words, with which his Friends seemed to be satisfied.

The Queen appointed Commissioners to treat with those of *England*, upon which a Solemn Treaty commenced, and concluded at the *Cock-pit* in *Westminster*, *Anno* 1706.

The Parliament met at *Edinburgh* in *October* following, and the Articles of Union were read, which, contrary to the Expectation, and in spite of all the Opposition the Country Party could make, were order'd to be printed.

They were no sooner published, but they raised Indignation in all sorts of People at those who were the Managers; but especially the Commissioners, hoping the Parliament would never give them a second Reading: But how miserably were they mistaken! For that Senate (notwithstanding many Addresses which were presented to them from almost all the Cities, Towns, Corporations, and Shires, and even all the Parishes of the Kingdom, representing that the Articles were prejudicial and dishonourable, being directly opposite to the Credit and Interest of the Nation, and therefore prayed, that the Parliament might reject them) had so little regard to such Remonstrances, that the Hatred and Aversion to the Union became more universal; and *Edinburgh* was filled with Mobs, which insulted the Lord Commissioner as he came to and from the Parliament House, and all other People whatsoever, that offered to speak in favour of it: the whole Country run to Arms, and rendezvous'd in their several Parishes, oftner than

than they did before; upon which the Act of Security was suspended.

The *French* King, willing to improve these Commotions to his own Advantage, sent over some Agents and Emissaries to that Country, as did also the Court of *St. Germains*, in order to increase the Flame, and lay a Foundation for a new Revolution in favour of the *Pretender*; accordingly those Agents being pretty sure of the *Jacobites*, resolved, in conjunction with them, by all means to engage the *Presbyterians* and *Cameronians* on their Side; or at least to prevent the Union, seeing no Addresses, neither Prayers nor Threatnings, Blessings nor Maledictions could prevail.

The Advocates for *France* and the *Pretender*, perceived easily that the *Presbyterians* were averse enough to the Union; but under no Concert among themselves, having no Chief Leader, or Head, whose Counsels they acquiesced in: So that for want of such, it was scarce possible to bring them into an Undertaking of this nature, which required the greatest Secrecy; and so they turned their whole Thoughts upon the *Cameronians*, knowing them to be more exact in their Oeconomy; and that the Commonalty of the *Presbyterians* were always ready to concur with them, in any Measures they went into; but knowing likewise, that the *Cameronians* were as much prejudiced against the *Jacobites* and the *Pretender*, as the other, they industriously concealed their true Design to set him up; and used only such Arguments to persuade them to rise in Arms, as they knew best suited their Principles; that the Union, as it

was

was publiſhed in the Articles, was not only diſhonourable to them as *Scotſmen*, and hurtful to their worldly Intereſt, but deſtructive of their Principles; for by it they were obliged to receive Laws from a Parliament where Biſhops were Members; which would not only be a notorious Breach of the National Covenant, but they would be alſo thereby debarred in time coming, from aſſiſting their *Presbyterian* Brethren in *England* to eſtabliſh *Presbytery* there. For by the Union *Epiſcopacy* was likewiſe eſtabliſhed in *England*, as a preliminary Fundamental Article, never to be alter'd; which was expreſly contrary to the Solemn League and Covenant, whereby they were obliged to aſſiſt *England*, and eſtabliſh *Preſbytery* when required.

Theſe, and ſuch like Arguments, were uſed to convince and gain Credit with the *Cameronians*, which prevailed by the dextrous Conduct of the leading Men of the *Jacobites* in this and ſeveral other Caſes, ſo far, that the *Cameronians* ſwallowed the Bait, and joined Iſſue with them in every thing they propoſed; for they took care to mention nothing of their Deſign in favour of the *Pretender*.

I ſoon perceived abundance of private Tranſactions in favour of the *Pretender*; for it was impoſſible for the *Jacobites* to carry them on without my knowledge, conſidering the great Intereſt I had with the *Cameronians*. At laſt the Government had repeated Advices, Matters were brought to ſuch a Criſis, that the *Cameronians* were to take Arms in the *South*, to be joined by moſt

moſt of the *Presbyterians*, by an Agreement with the *Jacobites*, who were to march from the *North* to *Edinburgh*, in order to put an end to that Parliament, which, they ſaid, had no other Views, but to ruin the whole Nation.

The Duke of *Queensberry*, then Lord High Commiſſioner, being apprized of theſe Matters, and knowing what Intereſt the Family I repreſent always had with the *Cameronians*, deſired Sir *David Dalrymple* to ſend me to him in great haſte, having ſomething of Importance to communicate to me. The Duke told me, he was informed, that the *Highlanders* were ready to take Arms, in order to raiſe the Parliament; and only waited for the *Cameronians*, who were likewiſe engaged in that Affair, having appointed a Meeting on the River *Nith* near *Sanquar*, for that end; which if not timely prevented, the Parliament would not only be raiſed, and the regular Forces cut to pieces, but the *French* King would improve the Opportunity, by ſending over Troops to that Country; by which *Britain* would become a Field of *Blood*, and not only the *Proteſtant* Religion, but even the Liberties of *Europe* would be in danger; but ſaid, that he believed it was in my power to prevent the *Cameronians* from going into ſuch pernicious Meaſures, and conſequently, that the *Jacobites* durſt not attempt any thing without them.

I anſwer'd, I was very ſorry that Matters were ſuffer'd to come to that length, having always been an Enemy to *Popery* and the *Pretender*; but was not able to hinder the *Cameronians* from purſuing

suing what Purposes they had resolved. The Duke replied, That my Predecessors had commanded them many Years, and that I was the only likely Person to prevail with them to decline such desperate Resolutions. This Rhetorick, so dextrously urged both by the Duke, and the late Earl of *Stairs*, persuaded me to yield; so that I could no longer resist such rhetorical Arguments, but desired them to make no Promises of the least Acknowledgment, or Reward; it being necessary that I could say to the *Cameronians*, that I had no private worldly Interest in view; (and truly I obtained my Request without any difficulty) but told the Duke, I foresaw some Danger: For, if I proposed to do any effectual Service, I must enter into all their Measures, and then probably they would honour me with the chief Command, and by being at their Head in Rebellion against the Queen and Government, I should expose my self to their Displeasure; and therefore it would be proper I should have a Privy Seal, authorising me to act as I found convenient: which I had accordingly some time after.

It was then I embarked so heartily in those Measures, which afterwards gave me so much Sorrow; altho' I declare solemnly, that instead of any Mischief in view at that time, I had rather the Misfortune to believe that I was doing good Service to my own Country, and the *Protestant* Interest; and desire the Reader seriously to consider how far a furious Zeal may carry one, even to act things contrary to Conscience, Honour, Interest, and every thing that is dear to a true Patriot, and a good Christian, which I wish to God had not been my Case. Full

Full of unbridled Zeal, I set out from *Edinburgh* to *Killoch* Side, near *Sanquar*, the latter-end of *November*, 1706, where the leading Men of the *Cameronians* were assembled; who admitted me forthwith into their General Meeting, and I addressed them pretty nigh their own Dialect as follows:

My Friends, it is with great Pleasure and Satisfaction, I present myself to your Assembly, which meeting together at this Time, is the Occasion of my coming hither. I hope, Gentlemen, you are all sensible that Matters are now brought to a Crisis, whereby all that is dear to us as *Protestants* reformed from *Popery*, Slavery, *&c.* and also as true *Scotsmen*, is now like to be render'd precarious by the designed Union.

I shall not pretend to give my Opinion in Matters of such Consequence, but hope to be informed by the better Judgments of this worthy Assembly, whose Business I take now to be, that you consider what is incumbent on all honest Men at this critical Juncture, whether we are to oppose this Union, or not: If you agree in the Affirmative, then what sort of Opposition this shall be; for it is very evident that the Parliament resolves to ram it down our Throats, maugre all the Remonstrances of the whole Kingdom to the contrary.

I doubt not, my Friends, but in treating of such important Matters, which so nearly concern us, both in our Spiritual and Temporal Interest, that you will lay aside all Passion and private Animosities. For

FOR my Part, I resolve to receive your Instructions, and to share in Life and Death with you, as my Predecessors have done in the worst of Times; to whom I am every way much Inferior, but shall always endeavour to follow their Steps, and particularly in their Zeal for the true *Protestant* Religion, and Affection to you, who have so just a Title to be called the *Zealous Remnant* in *Scotland.*

AND tho' I dare not be so Arrogant as to challenge the same respect you have always paid to them, I shall be proud to lay hold of all Opportunities to convince you, how much I respect and esteem you, and how much I have your Good at Heart.

THEY answer'd me very affectionately, and proceeded to debate upon this important Occasion, and finding, that they were all of Opinion, that such an Union would be destructive, not only of their Principles, but the Honour and Interest of their Country, which, it was therefore their Duty to Oppose at any Rate, I pretended (and would to God I had dealt more Sincerely) to join with them in all their Measures, and offered to fortify their Resolutions, with some Arguments of my own.

THEN they resolv'd to burn the Articles publickly at the Market Cross of *Dumfries*, and to Publish their Declaration, mentioning their Reasons for so doing; wherein likewise, all Those who had been any ways Aiding or Assisting to it, were declared Enemies and Traitors to their Coun-

try, which was afterwards very Solemnly performed, by a conſiderable Party of Horſe and Foot under Arms, with Sound of Trumpet and Beat of Drum.

THE Declaration being upon Record, I refer the Reader to it; for to inſert any Thing here, that ever appeared in Print, would be ſuperfluous.

THE *Cameronians*, as I expected, repoſed more Confidence in me, than I deſerved, which will appear but too plainly in the following Sheets. Whereupon, I diſpatched an Expreſs to the Duke of *Queensberry*, and told him, tho I had given way to ſuch a Solemn Execution of the Union Articles, that he might be Eaſy notwithſtanding, for it was neceſſary to keep up to the Decorum they expected, in order to prevent their Proſecution of ſuch Meaſures as muſt infallibly diſappoint him: And farther, I told him, it might be found expedient to burn the Houſes of ſome that had been moſt Inſtrumental in carrying on the Union; but nevertheleſs, I doubted not, to order Matters ſo, as that nothing was to be feared from the *Cameronians* upon this Conduct, which looked very like Earneſt; I am convinced the whole Body of the *Cameronians* were reſolved, my unworthy Self only excepted.

BUT upon their former Agreements and Reſolutions, thoſe that were upon the Head of the *Jacolites* returned, and endeavoured to perſwade us to March on to *Edinburgh*, with full Aſſurance, that the *Highlanders* would meet us there; which put me upon the fatal Neceſſity, to Cant to the *Cameronians*,

Cameronians, that I suspected the *Jacobites*, who had all along been our avowed Enemies, and thirsted after our Blood, in the Reigns of King *Charles* and King *James*, were but drawing us into a Snare, by perswading us to rise in Arms against the Government; and they being Enemies to both, would be glad to see us cut one another's Throats; being assured, they designed not to Act the Part they pretended: For we, like Christians, and brave *Scotsmen*, had given a publick Testimony against the Union, by burning the Articles, and making solemn Declarations against all that had been Aiding and Assisting thereunto: And the *Jacobites* had never yet given such publick Evidence of their Aversion to it; so our Signal not being answered by any such return from them again, as having nothing else to expect from People of their Principles, we had good Reason to doubt, both of their Resolution and Sincerity.

WITH such Arguments I cajoled the *Cameronians*, that it was an easie Matter for us to raise the Parliament at any time, without any Assistance from the *Jacobites*; and to make both them, and all the Regular Forces that Guarded them, run their Country very soon; but I told them, as prudent Men, we ought to consider what was fit to be done after so bold a Stroke: For should we separate, *said I*, we must expect to be treated as Rebels; and if we keep together, we must establish a new Form of Government; which if it be *Monarchical*, or *Republican*, it is proper to Consult the rest of the Nation; for being but a small part of it, we could not so easily set up a new Government, as to overturn the old; and therefore ought

to be ſatisfied with what we had done, attending the Motion of the reſt of our Country-men, with whom we ſhould endeavour to fix a Friendſhip and Correſpondence, and ſo Regulate our ſelves accordingly, in order to Act unanimouſly for the Good of the whole.

WITH which Advice they ſeemed to be ſatisfied, and ſo for that Time we parted.

I return'd to *Edinburgh*, where abundance, both of my *Cameronian* and *Jacobite* Friends came, they, no doubt, with a very ſerious Intention, to come into any honeſt Meaſures againſt the Union, conſiſting with the Publick Good of their Country and Principles, to both which, the *Cameronians* are certainly very Stedfaſt and Faithful.

THE *Highlanders*, who impatiently expected our marching in ſmall Parties, advanc'd towards *Edinburgh*; but hearing we had ſeparated and gone Home, they return'd alſo; whereby that Storm, which muſt of Neceſſity have overturned both Parliament and Union, was at once laid without coming to Blows: For the Diſappointment given by the *Cameronians*, had broke all their Meaſures; and thus the *Highlanders* had much more Reaſon to ſuſpect the *Cameronian*'s Conduct, than they had to ſuſpect the *Highlanders*; but, with ſhame be it told, of the Author of theſe *Memoirs*, neither of them was to blame, as will, to my Sorrow, but too plainly appear.

THE

THE Reader will, perhaps think me troublesome in loading my Story with my Faults; but sure he cannot be ill pleased, when he considers, that he had not seen the one but for the other, and will be satisfied of Impartiality in the following Sheets. For, however inconsiderable I may appear to those, who are ignorant of my Country, those who know any thing of those Transactions will easily agree, that I have been the unhappy Instrument of the Union, and consequently, what I dread to Name.

THE Duke of *Queensberry* having assured me, of being introduced to her Majesty's Favour, upon account of my eminent Services, I was thereby led in to farther Labyrinths, and added to my Misfortunes, for I was, by an over-heated Zeal, misled unto several Errors, in the Conduct of those Affairs, which I have since been heartily sorry for; but never had any Malice or ill Design in my Heart against any Person; which is all I shall say for my self.

So soon as the *Jacobites* had made the best of this woful Disappointment, they endeavoured afresh to engage into their Interest, such of the *Cameronians* as were at *Edinburgh*, but to no purpose, for I took care to start such Difficulties, as they could not surmount.

I shall only mention one Passage as a Specimen.

A Gentleman, entirely in Duke *Hamilton*'s Interest, told me, that every Body was then sensible of my prevailing Interest with the *Cameroni-*

ans, and believed it was in my Power to be very useful, in relieving my bleeding Country, from the Misery it was about to be plunged into, from the Union; that it was better the *Pretender* should be our King, and we a free People, than under the notion of Liberty and Property, live Slaves for ever, by giving up at once, what neither the *Romans*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Normans*, nor even the whole force of *England*, could by Conquest obtain over us.

I confessed this shocked me, especially when I reflected that a great many of my own Family bravely ventured, and lost their Lives in Defence of the Liberties of *Scotland*, against that our Neighbour Country, but my inviolable Attachment to the Succession in the House of *Hanover*, and the Revolution, upon which it was founded, proved in spite of all the Arguments advanced by that Gentleman, and even in spite of all that Honour and Conscience itself could suggest, too strong for any Motive or Consideration whatsoever.

So with Design to break the *Jacobites* among themselves, I told him, that the greatest Misfortunes which our Country laboured under, arose from our Kings, being Kings of *England*; who from that unhappy Hour, always forgot the true Interest of *Scotland*, and therefore thought, that to make us once more a happy People, we must have a King of our own, who had no manner of Title to the *English* Crown; which not being the *Pretender*'s Case, I should rather be for offering it to Duke *Hamilton*, whose Case it was very near, being

being descended from the Royal Family of the *Stuarts*, before King *James* IV. of *Scotland*, married *Henry* VII. of *England*'s Daughter.

HE seemed to like the Proposal, and said, It would be proper to try how People would relish it: I answered, It would be proper first to try the Duke, if he would be willing to Accept it; and a few Days afterwards he told me, that he doubted not but to manage Matters with the Duke, so as to procure his Approbation; tho I cannot say the Bait took, which his Grace's following behaviour testified; tho I know some People suspected him to incline that way; for tho he acted with more reserve than formerly, it was rather out of Policy than Pride, as in my Opinion, intending thereby to wheedle the *Cameronians* and *Presbyterians* into a belief, that he had a Mind to embrace the Offer, which if he had effected, he might as easily bring in the *Pretender*, as set up himself; and I am pretty sure, that was the height of his Ambition: And for this end, to perswade the People into a belief of his Sincerity, he ever afterwards pretended to be averse to every Thing that seemed to favour the *Pretender*, particularly, at the next meeting of the *Jacobites*, he seemed to cross their Inclinations so very much, that a certain great Man, with some other Persons of Distinction in that Interest, left him in a Huff, and were always diffident of him afterwards.

THUS all Endeavours to prevent the Union being frustrated, it was confirmed in Parliament, *Anno* 1707.

SOME Days before that, the Duke of *Queensberry*,

berry, and other great Men set out for *London* to present the Effects of their Labour and Industry in *April* or *May*, but before they went, two Gentlemen met me in the Lady *Murray's-Gardens*, where we discoursed about the Union, which was the common talk at that time, they insisted upon the Dishonour and Prejudice that *Scotland* would suffer by it, to which I agreed, for I was no Friend to the Union, farther than I had regard to the *Hanover* Succession, which indeed was then my Idol, as it had been all along.

They told me (for my Interest with the *Cameronians* was then universally known) that it was in my Power to be a very considerable Man, and might have what Terms I pleased, if I would join in a Project which was then on Foot, to bring in the *Pretender*, I said it was of too great importance to give a sudden Answer to, but would think on it, which they seemed to be pleased with, and told me, that there were some Forces expected from *France*, whereupon I forthwith went to the Duke of *Queensberry*, and told him, but concealed the Gentleman's Name, the Duke was much surprized, when he understood a *French* Power was to land in *Scotland*, and desired me to go into their Measures, in order to discover the Plot.

I told him that I was afraid, I had gone thro' too much dirty Work already, which I could neither answer to God or Man for, and wished since the Union had taken Effect, that a right use might be made of it for the good of the Country, that for my own Part I resolv'd to retire, to sit down quietly, and reap the best Crop I could get

get from it at leisure, and there I commenced a sort of Repentance, which, alas! did not last long.

AT last the Duke and I parted, after having used all the Rhetorick he was Master of, to perswade me, and so I went to my Friend, the then Earl of *R*———, for whom I had a very great Esteem, and an intire confidence in his Judgment.

AND having told him the same Story, he pressed me, as the Duke of *Queensberry* did, and said, it was impossible otherways to disappoint such a dangerous Design, for the *Jacobites* are very sensible, that you are capable to do them abundance of Service, and so will not dally with you, and consequently you will be at liberty to ask what Questions you please, which no Body else can pretend to; I return'd the same Objections, which the Earl endeavour'd to obviate, by telling me, that I had wrong Notions of Honour, for what could be dearer to one, than his Religion and Country, both which were in imminent Danger, if the *Jacobites* and *France*, succeeded in their Attempts: I replied, That to dye for my Country or Religion carried Honour, and consequently its Reward along with it; but to deceive any Man or Party, would bring with it a stigma upon my Name and Family to which I hoped his Lordship had a little regard, finding me in this Difficulty, he bid me go home, and sleep a Night upon it, and hoped next Morning to find me in a better Humour, pray, says he, let us see you then.

I retired, revolving with myself, what was proper to be done, and what the Consequences might

might be; and tho I endeavoured to ſhun all Company, my two *Jacobite* Friends, above-mentioned, entred my Chamber, whom I received with ſome Surpriſe, but at laſt, aſſiſted by the Earl of *R*-----'s Advice, I told them, that I had been very Serious on what had paſſed betwixt them and me, ever ſince I ſaw them, and would be ingenious and free with them, on what I had reſolved, ſince the Lives and Fortunes of many, might perhaps be involved in it.

FIRST then, I let them know, that I was a ſtrict *Presbyterian*, an Enemy to *Popery*, Slavery, and Arbitary Power, but had no Affection to the Union, as being deſtructive to the Honour and Intereſt of *Scotland:* But, if they could perſwade me, that the *Proteſtant* Religion, and my Country's Good, would be upon a ſecurer, and more advantageous footing by a Revolution, in favour of the *Pretender*, than under the preſent Eſtabliſhment, and an Union, I ſhould be glad to join in what probable Meaſures they ſhould lay down; elſe, I could not on any Conſideration whatſoever, favour ſuch a Deſign.

SECONDLY, I told them my Family would be ruined if I engaged in that Project, and therefore, it was neceſſary I ſhould have an equivalent ſecured, if we failed in the Attempt.

AND Thirdly, tho they ſhould ſatisfie me, as to theſe two Objections, it would ſignifie nothing, if the *Cameronians* were not alſo brought in, that in Honour and Conſcience I durſt not offer to make any ſuch attempt unleſs I could perfectly

fectly satisfie them, that the Design was founded upon a probability of Success, which in the mean time, I was not convinced of my self, but for that end, I desired them to let me know particularly, what assistance was expected from Abroad, and who was to join them at Home.

I started my first Objection, as a back Door to slip out at, when an Opportunity offered, but upon any trifling Pretence to desert them, the Second, to know if they were Serious, and the Third, that I might get into the perfect understanding of the whole Scheme.

THEY answered, That they had no present Orders to satisfy me, but hoped to do it in three or four Weeks, promising to lose no Time.

SO soon as they left me, I went to the Earl of *R*--------, and told him what had passed, which pleased him so much, that he applauded my conduct, and his being upon the Wing for *London*, a Cypher was contrived whereby to carry on our Correspondence.

AND so I wished the Duke, and the rest of the Great Men a good Journey; but was a little embarrassed how to carry betwixt the Duke and the *Squadrone*, for tho' they agreed in the main Point against the *Pretender*, yet they had no kindness for one another, each of them having desired me several times, to drop the other, but the personal Respect I had to the Earl of *R*---, preponderated a little to that Side, tho the sweet easy Temper of the Duke of *Queensberry*, which was very obliging,

ing, and especially, his hearty Inclinations to the *Hanover* Succession, made me resolve to carry the Ballance as even betwixt them as I could, and gratifie them both.

BUT in Justice to the good Duke of *Queensberry*'s Memory, the Reader must know, that tho' he was acting evidently in Favour of *England*, I was perswaded of his Affection to his own Country notwithstanding, for in *February* 1706-7, His Grace and I privately disputed, why the *Scots* were so generally averse to the Union; which we attributed chiefly to the Fears which the most Judicious among us had of *England*'s Honour and Fidelity in their observing the Articles agreed to, bad tho' they were, for being the Majority, it was always in their Power to put what Sense upon them they thought fit; which, tho' the Duke could not deny, He flattered himself, that the *English* would Act quite otherwise after the Union: For, *said he*, Now they must reckon us a-part of themselves, else the Union will be of no Use to them, if they do not endeavour to gain our Affections, and so to conquer us by theirs; for they know very well, that they could never conquer us any other way, and so, for their own sakes, they will rather make the Union better for us than worse. It seems the Duke was very much flattered with this Argument by the *English*, which made him undertake it so very heartily; for, he declared, that if he had thought it possible to save his Country, and secure the Protestant Religion and Interest (which he believed was the only Means to prevent his Country's Ruin) any other way than by an Union, he had not imbark'd in it with so much Zeal.

I must do him the Justice to declare, he represented all my good Services to the Queen, according to his Promise; even, tho' I had in a manner deserted him, and gone over into all the Measures of the *Squadrone*, and that Party; so that I had no Reason to doubt his Sincerity, for he always stood my fast Friend, being a Religious Observer of his Word, when others, of whom I deserved better, Deserted me.

THE Duke, and the other great Men, went to *London*, and I retired to *Kersland*, to breathe some honest Air in the Country, which might have had a very good Effect; but for the Bug-bear of *Popery*, which still troubled my Head, and prevailed against all the Suggestions of Honour and Interest, Country-Air, and every Thing.

I stayed in the Country a Fortnight, and in that time, an Express came from one of my *Jacobite* Friends, telling me, That they were ready to treat with me upon the grand Affair.

ACCORDINGLY we met at *Edinburgh*, in *May* 1707, and they produced their Instructions from St. *Germains*, to satisfy me in every Thing, with Assurance, that nothing should be wanting to secure the Protestant Religion; that I should have an equivalent for my Estate: And to shew what Confidence they reposed in me, they answered every Question according to my Mind, and, in short, let me in to the whole Affair.

FIRST,

FIRST, We disputed what number of Troops was Necessary to be sent to *Scotland*. *Secondly*, What Arms and Officers were wanting. And, *Thirdly*, What was proper to be mentioned in the *Pretender*'s Manifesto, concerning Religion.

WE differed in our Opinions; but at last resolved (for they acquiesced in every Thing I said) that 5000 Men was enough to be detached from *France*, and that the Manifesto should declare against the Union, since it was from the universal hatred at it, we had any Hopes to bring in so many of the Revolution Party to the *Pretender*'s Interest, that he should declare he was at present a *Papist*; but would chearfully give ear to Protestant Divines, and if they could convince him of an Errour from the Word of God, he would be glad to embrace the Religion of his People: For if he declared himself any thing else, his Sincerity would be suspected, and the truth of every thing he said; upon which they answered, they would take Care to make a faithful Report to the proper Persons.

I acquainted the Duke of *Queensberry* with what had passed, and in *June* 1707, sent his Grace a Copy of the Cypher agreed to between the *Scots* and *French* Agents, writ by one of the *French* Agents, who was a Man publickly known, at the same time, desiring him to let the *English* Ministry know the Danger the present Constitution was in.

UPON these my good Services, as they were called, I was flattered with abundance of Congratulations from several great Men, particularly from

from a special Friend of *Queensberry*'s, with the Duke's Protestations of leaving nothing undone, to strengthen my Hands in the good Work; and assuring me, that the Queen was very sensible of my great Services, which She would take care to reward accordingly, and truly, I dare say, I was rewarded just as I deserved.

THE Privy-Seal I mentioned before, never came to my Hands till now, that Mr. *Baylie*, of *Jerviswood*, late one of the Lords of the Treasury sent it me, whereof the true Copy is as follows.

ANNE R.

WHEREAS, we are fully sensible of the Fidelity and Loyalty of *John Ker*, of *Kersland* Esq; and of the Services he hath performed to us and our Government: We therefore grant him this our Royal Leave and Licence, to keep Company and Associate himself, with such, as are disaffected to us and our Government; in such Way or Manner, as he shall judge most for our Service. Given under our Royal Hand, at our Castle of *Windsor*, the 7th of *July* 1707, and of our Reign the 6th Year.

NOTWITHSTANDING this mighty Applause and Approbation, the little Honour and Conscience I had left, had certainly perswaded me to abandon

abandon ſuch wicked Courſes, and drop the Court Intereſt for ever; had not a *Presbyterian* Parſon, a Man of great Learning and ſeeming Piety, confirmed me in them, he was a Caſuiſt of the Court-Stamp, which made both my Conſcience and Honour give way, and ſo was engaged more than ever, in the Proſecution of ſuch unhappy Contrivances, as was afterwards put in Execution.

I had a very difficult Game to Play, and many Things to do, of ſo tender a Nature, that they were to be very delicately touched, and the rather, that I had no Body I could truſt to go along with me; ſometimes I asked Advice of Mr. *Cockburn*, the Lord Chief Juſtice's Clerk, and Mr. *Baylie*, &c. but they being often out of the way, I was forced to take a great deal upon my ſelf.

I employed Spies and Agents over all the Country, to inform me of every thing that paſſed among the *Jacobites*, at their Clubs and private Meetings, whereby I was not only capable to judge of the *French* Agents Sincerity with me, but even to counter-act and diſappoint the *Jacobites* at any time.

But being obliged to perſuade thoſe St. *Germain* Agents of my Intereſt with the *Cameronians*, and that I meant, Sincerely, to bring them into the *Pretender*'s Intereſt, the better to deceive them; I ſuffered them, not only to proceed in their own Way, but even contributed to their Aſſiſtance, ſtill keeping it in my Power, to undo what I had done when I pleaſed; whereby I got to the bottom of all

all their Plots and Designs, and to the Knowledge of every body concerned therein; whose Names, how vile a part soever I acted my self, yet nothing could ever persuade me to divulge, but to one Person, upon Promise of Secrecy, which I thought myself pretty sure of; most of the *Jacobites* of any Note, being his own Relations, and so he had more Reason to Conceal them than I. But I had so much Confidence in him, that I left my Privy Seal in his Custody, upon which both my Life and Fortune did then depend.

I insist upon this Point the more, having been blamed as the Cause of the *Scots* Noblemen and Gentlemens coming up to *London*, by an Order of the Government, in 1708, after the flight of the *Pretender*, which I declare, before God, I had no Hand in.

In *July*, 1707, there was a Plot to Surprize the Castle of *Edinburgh*; there being in it, at that time, 400000 *l.* called the Equivalent Money, and the rest of the Current Coin in the Kingdom was called in, in order to be recoined.

This Plot was to be put in Execution by a certain Gentleman, who was a very bold enterprising Person, and had appointed with 20 or 30 of his Accomplices, to appear upon the Castle-Hill such a Day at Noon; it being always full of Company every Day at that Time, with Swords and Private Arms, and so to scatter themselves among the Crowd, as nigh the Draw-bridge as they could; which this Gentleman was to enter, and

enquire for a Friend in the Caſtle, who, ſo ſoon as Orders ſhould be given to open the Gate, which is never denied to any Gentleman, was to Piſtol the Centinel, as a Signal to his Men to follow him, and ſecure the Bridge; and an hundred Men more, who were to be lodged in a Cellar on the Caſtle-Hill, were alſo, upon this Signal, to make the beſt of their way in order to ſecure all at once.

When this Plot was upon the Point of Execution, the Secret was recommended to my Approbation, by the very Gentleman who had undertaken it; he told me likewiſe, that he had ſurveyed the Caſtle, and found it deſtitute both of Soldiers and Ammunition, there being but thirty-five effective Men in it, ſome of whom he had already Debauched.

This Reſolution ſurprized me not a little, and the rather becauſe it was like to Succeed, and that very ſpeedily: The Caſtle of *Edinburgh* being at any time of vaſt Importance; but eſpecially then, when ſuch a great Sum was in it, and muſt have fallen into the Hands of our Enemies, which it was ſcarce poſſible to prevent, there being none of the Government at that time, in Town for me to apply to; and, beſides, I had Orders to Communicate no Secrets to any in *Scotland*, but the Lord Juſtice *Clerk*, who then lay very Sick in the Country; and other two Perſons, who happened then to be at *London*.

Whereupon, I told the Gentleman, That tho the Poſſeſſion of the Caſtle was of great Conſequence,

sequence, yet to seize it at that Time, would Ruin all, by alarming *England*; who would, thereupon, equip a Fleet to prevent the *Pretender*'s coming; and said, it would do better to defer it till he was ready to Embark: Farther, such a Discovery, instead of bringing any bad Consequence along with it, would rather, if rightly timed, be a discouraging Blow to the Government: Whereas, at that present time, it would awaken the *English*, and give them an Opportunity to break all our Measures; and that we could suffer nothing by deferring it till a more proper Time, since we might always have the same Opportunity at Hand; to which the Gentleman agreed, and so it was delayed.

With all these Proceedings, I immediatly acquainted the Lord *High Treasurer*, and the Duke of *Queensberry*; and begg'd them to put the Kingdom and Castle in better Defence: But finding no Care taken of either, I took Leave of my *Jacobite* Friends; and instead of going into the Country, as I pretended, I posted to *London*, from thence I went to *Windsor*, with my Credentials along with me to my Lord Treasurer, where I found him at the Dutchess of *Marlborough*'s I sent a Letter to his Lordship, who came out immediatly and carried me along with him to his House, where, I laid before him all that had happened lately in *Scotland*, which convinced him, that there was an Invasion from *France* intended; and so, after abundance of Civilities, he ordered me to Post back to *Scotland*, and said, he would take Care to Disappoint the Enemies Designs.

I obeyed his Orders, and was in *Edinburgh* sooner than a Letter, wrote by a *Scots Jacobite* in *London*, to his Friend at *Edinburgh*, which told him, that he saw me come out of a certain House in St. *James*'s Square the very Day he writ it; but upon my arrival, I went to the Dutchess of *Gordon*'s, where I met some of the *Pretender*'s Agents, this prevented their giving any Credit to that Letter, which came not to their Hands till the next Morning: However, it served to make them Jealous of me, for they told me at the next Meeting, that they had seen a Letter, which assured them that I had been lately in *London*.

I told them, that tho' it was needless to Contradict them, if they believed it, whether it was true or false, yet they might easily see they were imposed on, by the time which they knew was so very little from my leaving of *Edinburgh* till I return'd; and their believing any Stories, would produce no other Effect, than to create such Misunderstandings betwixt us, as must effectually disappoint our Intentions; and then they said, they believed I was injured; but to Convince every Body of my Sincerity, they desired me to persuade the *Cameronians* to make a publick Appearance against the Government, which would be of great Moment to the *Pretender*'s Interest, and encourage the *French* King to send over the Forces to assist him, which he had resolved on before; for then he needed not doubt of Success, if the *Cameronians* came heartily into the Cause, as knowing they were a brave People, and their Fidelity might be depended on.

This

This Proposal perplexed me, but considering it was of the last Consequence, to keep on the Mask as long as I could, I convened that Party of the *Cameronians* which followed Mr. *Mac Millan*, one of their Preachers, at *Sanquehar*, and at the *Market Cross*, made publick Declaration against the Queen, That she had forfeited her Right to the Crown, by imposing the Union upon us; and therefore disowned her Authority and Government, declaring it unlawful to pay Taxes, or Obey her, or any that pretended to any manner of Authority under her.

Tho this Declaration did not mention the *Pretender* expresly, yet it was couched so, as to make the *Jacobites* hope, that the *Cameronians* might be soon reconciled to that Interest. They fixed it to the *Cross* when they had done, and it was afterwards, when the *Cameronians* were dispersed, dispatched Express to *Edinburgh*.

The Lord Justice *Clerk*, who was then prime Minister in *Scotland*, writ to me, with heavy Complaints of this Insolence, whom I answered, That it was Necessary, in order to renew the Confidence, which I thought was proper the *Jacobites* should repose in the *Cameronians*, and to confirm my Credit with them, which I thought was declining.

Some time afterwards, I found some cunning *Jacobites* took abundance of Pains to reconcile the several Parties, whose different Principles and Opinions, had all along prevented the *Scots* in general from an unanimous Resolution, either to

disappoint the Union, or dissolve it, since it had been put upon them: For this end, they persuaded some *Presbyterian* Ministers to adjust their Differences with the *Cameronians*. Whereupon, I was involved in new Difficulties, for seeing what this would amount to, I must confess, That I was forced to Act a very Unacceptable Part; for tho' I am as desirous of an universal Harmony as any Man, I studied to throw all the Obstacles I could in their way, in order to prevent such a Reconciliation, which I knew, would at that time effectually answer the Enemy's Intention, and overturn the Union, and every Thing else.

My Endeavours answered my Design, for I did some particular Services to the Government at that time, which would be too tedious here to mention.

But notwithstanding my frequent Messages, and sedulous Application to the Court, to put the Nation in a better Defence, no care was either taken, as to the Castle of *Edinburgh*, or to prevent the threatned Invasion, from all which I could scarce forbear censuring the Treasurer and the whole Ministry, as being in the Plot.

Whereupon I went to *London*, in *February*, 1707-8, and just as the News came to Court, that the *Pretender* embarked at *Dunkirk*, my Jealousy of *Godolphin* increased, especially when a certain great Man told me, that he, and all the rest of the *Whig* Lords, suspected him, having taken no care to secure *Scotland*, &c. And consequently, he believed it was ruined, being at that time

time indeed, in very defenceless Circumstances, for there was not above 1500 regular Troops in the Nation, and all the Castles and Forts unprovided.

However, I went to the Treasurer, who received me with a grimace of Esteem, and commended my Diligence, telling me, he was informed that the *French* were embarking at *Dunkirk*, and therefore it was proper I should return to *Scotland*, and he would take care to send Forces, and all other Necessaries speedily after me, and then showed me a List of the Men of War, that were preparing with all Expedition, to block up *Dunkirk*, and prevent the *French* landing.

I answered, I was afraid that their Landing could scarce be prevented, for their Ships were all light Frigates, and Privateers, and well cleaned, and so would out-sail ours, which I was told was very foul, and so begged him not think to prevent their landing; but rather prepare to give them a warm Reception when landed; he desired me to make all haste for *Scotland*, and promised to send me his Directions from time to time, as the Circumstances required.

I told him, that to go to *Scotland*, whilst it was unprovided, would be of no Service, either to it, or the Government; and if I offered to throw off the Mask, without a Protection, I deserved to have my Throat cut; and so begged to be excused, at least, till his Lordship was pleased to let me know, what Part I was to Act for my own, and my Country's Defence: he asked what

it was I propoſed to do, I anſwered, that upon the *Pretender*'s landing, I would perſuade the *Cameronians* to draw together, and Declare againſt the *Pretender*: Threatning Miſchief to all that joined him, and contrive the Manifeſto in ſuch Terms, as none of the *Presbyterians* ſhould appear for him; which would be ſuch a mortifying Diſappointment to the *Jacobites*, that even they durſt not offer to appear; but, *ſaid he*, If you take Arms againſt the *Pretender*, before the Troops from *England* arrive, you will be cut to Pieces, being in no Condition to oppoſe ſuch numerous Forces as will come with him: I replied, That it was abſolutely neceſſary to make an appearance againſt him upon his landing, otherwiſe a great many good diſpoſed People, might be inſnared into his Intereſt, and join him out of perfect ſpite at the Union, but if a Body of well affected People, exerted themſelves in ſuch a manner, giving their proper Reaſons for it in their Declaration, I would engage by ſuch Means to prevent the *Presbyterians* joining him, and doubted not to be able to keep the Mountains, in ſpite of all the *French* and *Jacobites* that ſhould offer to diſturb us, till ſuch time as Succours arrived.

He deſired me to go down, and do as I thought fit, and then I told him, it would be neceſſary to ſend down Money to buy Ammunition, and defray ſome Arrears of Pay, that was due to ſome of the *Cameronian* Officers, ſince they had been in *Flanders* the laſt War, that it was but a Trifle, and it would both encourage them, and make my Work light; and I doubted not, upon ſuch Conditions, that I was capable upon the Head of the

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Cameronians, to perform more, than he could imagine at that time, which he might assure the Queen of, and that She had not misplaced her Confidence in me.

My Lord still insisted upon my hasting for *Scotland*, and promised to send the Money after me, to be laid out as I proposed, but it never came, tho' I must confess, he gave me Money generously enough, for my own private Occasions; as I offered to withdraw, he came nearer, and told me, that I needed not Write to any Person, for it would be better to Correspond only with himself, since whatever I Wrote must come before him, and promised, if I would sincerely attach my self to him, to be my Friend, and do every thing for me I desired: he look'd very serious, and said farther, that I might depend upon it, he would make good what he said; to all which I returned a Compliment, being resolved to live and dye with the *Squadrone*, and the rest of the *Whigs*; but how well they deserved this Resolution at my Hands, will appear hereafter.

The Treasurer ask'd how he should direct to me, I told him, To Mr. *John Hourat*, to the care of *Alexander Arbuthnot*, Merchant in *Edinburgh*. He conducted me to the Door and wished me a good Journey, and said, he thought it proper to have a Pass, and a Post Warrant, which he ordered for me immediately.

I went instantly to a certain Duke and told him all that past, then, *said he*, the Treasurer is certainly in the *Pretender*'s Interest, which gave him

him ſuch diſmal Apprehenſions, that he expected nothing but Ruin: this he hoped I would prevent, by ſeizing ſome of the principal *Jacobites* in *Scotland*, which was eaſy to do, when every thing was in Confuſion there, for by having them in Cuſtody, it would be in my Power, in caſe of the worſt, to make Terms for ſome of my Friends; he promiſed to get ſome of the *Whig* Lords to make the Treaſurer mind his Promiſe, to ſend down the Money for the Purpoſes I propoſed, and ſo we parted.

Next I went to the Houſe of Lords, to find the Duke of *Queensberry*, who immediately came to the Door, and took me into a ſide Room, he ask'd me if I had any late Accounts from *Scotland*. Nothing of Moment, *ſaid I*, but was come to receive his Grace's Commands thither, having taken leave of the Treaſurer; *he ſaid*, he wiſhed he had known it ſooner, that he might have perſwaded him to do what was Neceſſary; the Duke ask'd me what I would have him to do, promiſing to be wanting in nothing that was in his Power to contribute to the Preſervation of his Country, which muſt be ruin'd if the *Pretender* ſucceeded: For his Part, *he ſaid*, he knew what he had to expect, his Eſtate being intended to be given to the Lord *Middleton*. I told him, that the chief Point in *Scotland*, was to prevent the *Presbyterians*, and *Cameronians*, from joining the *Jacobites*, ſince their natural Averſion to the Union might probably incline them that way; I promiſed to do the beſt I could in every thing, and ſo we parted.

I went to the Post-House, and so to *Scotland* just as the Pretender appear'd on that Coast, whereupon I assembled the leading Men of the *Cameronians*, at *Sanquehar*, and spoke to them as follows.

My Friends, no doubt it will be hard for you to reconcile the different Turns I have made, in my late Conduct, which I assure you proceeds not from any want of due Respect and Confidence in you; but, as both my Education and Conversation, hath furnish'd me with various Opportunities to know, and get to the bottom of many Things, which lie perfectly out of your way; so I never intended any thing but your real Good and Advantage, having employed all these Opportunities for that end, and must really tell you, that I have watched for your Safety.

I thought it proper to conceal my Reasons, for some mysterious Steps we made, because, I could not otherwise form a Judgment, what might be our Duty and Interest in these Perilous Times; but be assured, you shall reap the Benefit, and good Consequences of my Labour and Industry, to which, you have a just Title upon many Accounts.

Had I told you every thing as it happened, and my Intentions thereupon, I should not have perswaded you to Act some Parts you have done; for every Man, is not equal to every Thing, nor capable to bear a Part in delicate Affairs, wherein many Judicious Persons have been employed, with Views quite different, from either yours or mine:

mine: I come now to open my Breaſt, and let you know, that my averſion to the Union, hath made me perhaps go too far in ſome Meaſures, which I fear is not altogether for the Intereſt of our Country, and muſt tell you now, that I can find no Security for the *Proteſtant* Religion, from the *Pretender*'s Succeſs, but rather, inevitable Deſtruction; he is now upon our Coaſts aboard a *French* Fleet, with an Army of *French* and *Iriſh Papiſts*, who have murder'd ſo many of our Brethren in *France*, (the Melancholy Account whereof, I here preſent you in this Book.) And, he is ſo bigotted to the Errors of the Church of *Rome*, that there is no Hopes now of perſwading him to renounce his Opinion, even tho' he ſhould Succeed, as I once had Faith that he might have been prevailed withal, from his pretended Father's Misfortunes, but, alas! my Hopes are all vaniſhed, for I know ſuch Propoſals have been lately made to him, by ſome of our Countrymen, but he hath rejected them all.

My Friends, you know it is againſt the Word of God, to have any manner of Communication with God's Enemies, and Idolaters; you may remember how the Prophet rebuked *Jehoſaphat*, for ſuch a Crime, as *Chronicles* mention; you know too that it is a Maxim with us, and all good People, not to do Evil, that Good may come of it; but rather let us wait God's own time to deliver us from the Union, and our Oppreſſors, which he will ſurely do, and much more for us, if we prefer his Intereſt to our own.

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Let us all then, as true Protestants, good Christians, and brave *Scotsmen*, commit our Cause, and that of our bleeding Country, to God, and oppose the Enemies of his Truth, with our Swords in our Hands, and an undaunted Resolution, to Seal with our Blood, that Testimony, which so many of our Friends and noble Progenitors, have already Sealed, both on Scaffolds, and in the Fields: For my part, I shall reckon it my greatest Honour to join with you in Life and Death, in the defence of such a glorious Cause; for which the Family I represent, have suffered so much, and for which, my Predecessors have so freely ventured, and abandoned both their Lives and Fortunes.

I pressed this with abundance of Zeal, and desired them seriously to peruse the Book abovementioned, which a Person of Quality had given me for that end, when I was last at *London*; but was informed afterwards, that it was put upon us by the late infamous Assassine *Guiscard*, in order to possess the People of *Great-Britain* with Horror and Revenge against *France*, because of the then approaching Peace, which the *Whigs* foresaw, would be very prejudicial to the Nation.

The Reader must know, that from the Confidence the *Cameronians* reposed in me, they laid aside their Resentments against the Union for some time, and agreed to my Proposal, which was to Declare against the *Pretender*, and all that joined him, as Enemies; for which the necessary Dispositions were made, and a little while afterwards, the following Letter came to my Hands from a Person of Quality then at *London*.

Sir,

Sir, You have heard by this time, that the *Pretender* ſailed from *Dunkirk* with the *French* Fleet, and Sir *George Bing* is in purſuit of him; One would think now, that the Treaſurer is in Earneſt, as I am ſure the *Whig* Lords are: The Lord Juſtice *Clerk* hath Orders, by his Poſt, to give you the Money you deſired; pray make the *Cameronian* Officers ſenſible, that my Lord *Somers* has, in a manner, forced it from the Treaſurer; I have no doubt but you will be able now, to exert your ſelf; Let me hear often from you, *&c. London, March* 20, 1707-8.

Upon receipt of this Letter, I went to *Edinburgh*, and told the Lord Juſtice *Clerk* of it, who immediately produced another from the Lord Treaſurer, mentioning, that the Lord *Somers* had prevailed with him to ſend the incloſed, which, he ſaid, was an Order for Money, which was to be given to the *Cameronians* in payment of their Arrears. But upon peruſal, we found it to be only an humble Requeſt, That the Lord Juſtice *Clerk* would pleaſe to pay ſeveral Officers under my Direction, their reſpective juſt Demands; and he would endeavour to perſwade the Queen to allow it; but ſurely no body would advance a Farthing on ſuch New-faſhioned Orders: And ſo I poſted back to the *Cameronians*, with fair Promiſes only, which they could not be very well pleaſed with; but continued reſolute to oppoſe the *Pretender* notwithſtanding.

The *French* Fleet, as I had foretold the Treaſurer, outſailed ours; and when they came upon the Coaſt of *Scotland*, they gave a Signal to *Dunoter* Caſtle,

Castle, which was the Place appointed for that end; but the Signal not being answered by the late Earl *Marshall*, who was ordered there for that Purpose, they sailed strait to the *Firth* of *Edinburgh*, where they Anchored in *March*, 1707-8, upon *Thursday* Evening, when there was not four Rounds in the Castle; nor did the whole Garrison, at that time, consist of Forty effective Men, as I told you before: nor came there any Ammunition to it till the next *Saturday*, from *Berwick*. So that if the *Pretender* had landed, it must certainly have fallen into his Hands, if Sir *George Bing* had not come the same Night so near the Enemy, that he discovered them by his Advice-Boat; whereupon he gave a Signal to our Fleet, to come and Anchor there; which so alarmed the *French*, that they immediately cut their Cables, and got out to Sea: Next Morning our Fleet pursued, and took the *Salisbury* Man of War, only the Enemy bore to the *Northward*, and our Fleet, instead of pursuing them, or guarding the Coast, returned to the *Firth*, where they Anchored, leaving all the *Northern* Coasts bare and defenceless; for the *French* Fleet, not long afterwards, came into the *Firth* of *Murray*, and the *Pretender* desired the *French* Admiral, called *Fourbin*, to land the Troops there, which he refused; then he begged that his own national Troops, *Scots* and *Irish* might be landed, for he had four *Irish* Regiments aboard, as good as any in *Europe*, but *Fourbin* told him he had positive Orders to the contrary.

Some alledged, *Fourbin* would not comply with the *Pretender*'s Request, because his Signal was

was not anſwered from *Dunoter* Caſtle; others, becauſe the Chief *Jacobites* were taken into Cuſtody ſome few days before, and the *Cameronians* had diſappointed them; which irreparably broke all their Meaſures; others again believed with me, that the King of *France* never valued the *Pretender*, fart er, than to make a Tool of him, in order to perplex *Great Britain*, and their Affairs; tho' I believe, at the ſame time, that if he had landed only with his *Valet de Chambre*, he could never have had a better Opportunity to gain his Point from that time to this.

But the *French* Fleet went Home, and a great many People of Quality, and Diſtinction in *Scotland*, were ſecured, and ordered for *London*, where they were confined in the *Tower* for a little Time, but were bailed out by the *Whigs*, and ſo returned to *Scotland* in good time, to influence the Elections for the next Parliament, in oppoſition to *Queensberry* and the Treaſurer; but whether the *Whigs* or they changed Sides, I leave to the Annals of thoſe Times.

About this time there was a Letter wrote to me from *London*, by a Perſon of Quality, deſiring me to procure an Addreſs from the *Cameronians*, to the Queen, repreſenting their Fears of *Popery*, &c. And therefore praying to call over the *Proteſtant* Succeſſor.

I was very ready to oblige him in any thing that regarded the *Proteſtant* Succeſſion, but being afraid it might be made uſe of for ſome other end than was propoſed, I declined, troubling the *Came-*

Cameronians about it, after which I had another Letter, pressing me with the greatest of earnestness to procure the foresaid Address: Saying, it would be of vast Consequence to secure the *Protestant* Succession, and a great Honour to myself and the *Cameronians*, to be the first that should address her Majesty upon that Account, assuring me in the said Letter, that this Address would quickly be follow'd by a great many others to the same Purpose, and they should soon be payed their Arrears, he prevailed; and so the Address was drawn up accordingly, but with a peculiar Stile, which was Signed by a great many, and sent to him, who received it with many Congratulations, and shewed it to his Friends, the *Whig* Lords at *London*, who were all so mightily pleased therewith, that I had abundance of Acknowledgments thereupon in many Letters, as a Matter of the last Consequence: for an Address, *said they*, from such a Body of well disciplin'd Men, would not only strike an Awe into the Enemies of the illustrious House, but would likewise be an Example to the rest of the Nation. They desired me, likewise, to assure my Friends, that it was now in the *Whig* Lords power to oblige the Treasurer to do what they pleased, and consequently we might expect our Money very shortly, tho' not a Farthing ever yet came.

Tho' this Address was never presented, I believe it had the same Success they desired, for it so frightned the Treasurer, that some of the leading *Whigs* were put into eminent Posts thereby. *Wharton* was made Lieutenant of *Ireland*, *Sommers* President of the Council, *&c.* and then the *Cameronian* Officers thought it was their Turn

to be ſerved, ſince, by their Means, the *Whig* Lords had their Inclinations ſo much gratified: But, notwithſtanding all the fine Compliments and united Promiſes of the Duke, and the reſt of the *Whig* Lords, inſtead of any Reward for the vaſt Expence I had been at upon their Account, the following Letter from a great Man in the *Whigs* Intereſt, was delivered to me by one of the Commiſſioners of the Exciſe.

Sir, I had yours laſt Poſt, and am heartily ſorry for your Indiſpoſition, from which I earneſtly wiſh you a Recovery: I am oblig'd to acquaint you, that I muſt break off all further Correſpondence with you; the Gentleman who delivers this to you, will let you know the Reaſons; but I declare this does not proceed from any want of Senſe of my Obligations to you, which I will never forget; nor have I any Grounds to doubt of your Fidelity and Friendſhip to me; nor ſhall I ever omit any Opportunity of ſerving you, when in my Power: I am, Sir, your humble and obliged Servant. *London*, 5 *Novemb.* 1708.

I need not tell my Reader how much I was ſurprized, but muſt heartily agree with him, that I deſerved no better; tho', I hope, he will agree with me too, that I deſerved no ſuch treatment from ſuch as I had ſacrificed every Thing for, that ought to be dear to a Gentleman; but I have the Proverb on my ſide, *Courtiers ſeldom keep their Words*: A mighty Comfort! and ſo I'll drop them at preſent, as they have done me.

In *January*, 1708, the Parliament went upon the State of the Kingdom, when the late Invaſion happened; upon which the Lord *Haver-*

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sham made a very warm Speech, and the Accompts being laid before the House, it appeared that *Scotland* had been destitute of all Means of Defence till a trifling Supply arrived from *Berwick*, as I said before, and that was almost too late: For which the Ministry made no other Excuse, but that the *Pretender*'s Attempts had been managed so privately, that they could not be known; but the Lord *Haversham* knowing the contrary, that I had told the Lord Treasurer of all the particular Steps the Enemy had taken near a Year before any Thing was put in Execution: His Lordship employed the late Doctor *Hutton*, a very good Friend of mine, to write to me, to hasten up to *London*, and bring my Papers with all speed, that I might do Justice both to my Country, and to myself.

The Lord *Haversham* moved so much in this Affair, that the Lord Treasurer, and his Friends who laboured to Skreen him, were apprehensive of the Consequences, if the Parliament was made sensible, that he had timely Notice of the *Pretender*'s intended Invasion on *Scotland*; upon which, it was resolved to give me new Work in that Country, in order to detain me there till the Opportunity was lost, and the Treasurer's Conduct should be justified before the Parliament; and accordingly a Letter came to my Hand from a certain great Man in the *Whig* Interest, desiring to renew the Correspondence that had formerly been betwixt him and me, having forgot that he had desired in a former Letter to drop it, which in this last, he pretended to excuse, desiring me to do some new Services in *Scotland*, which I suffered myself to be prevailed upon to agree to; and by this Means

I was detained in that Country till the Opportunity was loſt, for I knew nothing of the Lord *Haverſham*'s Intention; Doctor *Hutton*'s Letter having miſcarried, never coming to my Hand: Wherefore, it not appearing to the Parliament, that the Lord Treaſurer and Miniſtry, had any previous Advertiſement of the Enemies Proceedings, they were acquitted before I came to *London*, which was about the latter end of *March*, 1709.

The Lord Treaſurer, upon my Arrival, payed all Accompts due to myſelf; but to my Sorrow, could never prevail in the Matter of the *Cameronian* Arrears, notwithſtanding all that the good Duke of *Queensberry*, &c. could do, who did every thing in his Power to ſerve and oblige me, and uſed his Argument very often with the Treaſurer for that end, and which I cannot in Honour and Gratitude to his Noble Memory forget gratefully to mention; he generouſly, always, remembring my good Services, and as generouſly forgetting the ſeveral Diſobligations I had given him, in taking a Part with the *Squadrone*, &c. tho' much to his Prejudice.

Next *May*, the following Letter from ſome of the *Cameronian* Officers, in behalf of the whole, came to my Hand.

Honoured Sir, You may remember when the *Pretender* was upon our Coaſts, what Promiſes you was pleaſed to make us in the Name of *England*, and, indeed, we ſhall never impute Non-Performance of them to any Neglect or Fault in you,

you, but only to those concerned in the Government; you was Witness to our Zeal then, and our readiness to oppose the *Pretender*, had he landed: Be pleased to let us know if we are to expect the payment of our Arrears, or not.

England, who hath no Opportunity to know any thing of us, may probably despise us; but it is well known, that under the Conduct of your worthy Predecessors, we durst look our Enemies in the Face, and defend ourselves in the Reigns of King *Charles* and King *James:* But what can be expected from People thus abused, if the *Pretender* ever makes another Attempt? However, Sir, whether you Succeed in your Endeavours for us, or not, we shall always have an Esteem and Affection for you; and a due Regard to the worthy Family you have the Honour to represent. We add no more, but commit you to God's Blessing and Keeping, and remain with all Sincerity and Respect, in our own, and our Friends Names, Your most Humble Servants,

Harris, *Matthewson*,
Penponth, *Gilchrist*, *Howartson*,
15 May, 1709. *Hutcheson*, *Campbell.*

This Letter made me stay in *London* to negotiate their Arrears, and that made the Difference betwixt a certain great Man and me; for a change of the Ministry happening soon afterwards, the Treasurer and his Friends were very anxious to have me out of Town; because I knew abundance of Things they were willing to conceal: I mention this, because some *Whigs* took Occasion

to believe that I changed Sides, having the Honour to converſe ſometimes with Mr. *H.* afterward *E.* of *Oxford*.

I ſhall give a ſhort Account of this Matter, as follows:

The Lord *Harcourt*, for whom I had a particular Regard, being acquainted with my Father and his Family in their Exile at *Utrecht*, gave me ſuch Aſſurance of his ſincere Attachment to the *Hanover* Intereſt, as perfectly ſatisfied me: He preſſed me to viſit Mr. *Harley*, and told me I was miſtaken to believe the Houſe of *Hanover* to have no Friends in *England*, but the late Miniſtry, to whom he never was a Friend, and yet none was more ſincere in the Intereſt of the illuſtrious Houſe: That he doubted not, but the Succeſſion would be as ſure under the new Miniſtry, as the late; and Dr. *Hutton*, whom I likewiſe knew to be firm in that Intereſt, told me if I converſed with Mr. *Harley*, all my Fears of any Dangers would be removed.

Whereupon I went to Mr. *Harley*, who received me very civilly, and indeed, convinced me of his ſincere Affection to the *Hanover* Intereſt at that time; with his Aſſurances of doing me all the good Offices he could, which gave me afterwards an Opportunity to lay before him the Caſe of the late Garriſons of *London-Derry*, and *Inniskilling*, who had ſome Debts due to them ever ſince the noble Defence they made againſt King *James*, *Anno.* 1689, which the late Miniſtry never minded.

I endeavour'd to perſuade him, that his Aſſiſting thoſe poor People in Parliament, would be ſuch an Evidence of his Affection to the Revolution Intereſt, as muſt ſtop every body's mouth who thought otherwiſe: Since it was well known that *England* reaped the Benefit of the Revolution from the Defence they made; whereby King *James* was prevented from going to *Scotland*, where the Lord *Dundee* was then actually in Arms for him: Which, if he had done, he might have eaſily joined the Diſaffected there, and entred *England* with ſuch an Army, as muſt, very probably, have overturned the Revolution, with all its Conſequences, as Matters then ſtood, both at Home and Abroad.

Mr. *Harley* allowed their Demands to be very juſt, and promiſed to abett their Intereſt in Parliament, whenever they applied to him.

I believed the Payment of this Debt would be of great Service to the Houſe of *Hanover*; becauſe it would encourage others to venture for that Intereſt, when they ſaw that People rewarded; and ſo made it my Buſineſs to perſuade the Gentleman who had the Management of that Affair, which had been depending for ſo many Years, to apply to Mr. *Harley*, and the Parliament.

I only mention this Affair (which came to nothing, though there was abundance of Application made) to ſhew my Reaſons for attending Mr. *Harley* ſo very often, ſo long as this Affair, and the *Cameronians* Arrears was in Agitation.

And I protest solemnly, that I had no other End in this Matter, than to engage those People in the *Hanover* Interest, which I always intended as the Consequence of all my Endeavours; for I had neither Promise, nor the least Expectation of a Reward, or Bribe, as the Gentlemen who had the Management of it, are ready to justify.

Mr. *Harley* likewise told me, the Parliament resolved to call me before them, to give Account of what I knew of the intended Invasion; and particularly, of what Informations I gave thereof to the late Treasurer, which, no doubt, was designed to render him, and the late *Whig* Ministry Odious: and I had but too much Resentment to prompt me to it, had it not been that I knew not how far it might affect the *Hanover* Succession, which was always my Idol; and not daring to trust to my own Judgment, in such an important Affair, where I was to be active myself, I determin'd to take Advice of such whose Affections to their Country, and the *Protestant* Interest, were above private Views, or Party Concerns. And having conceived such an Opinion of the publick Spirit, great Worth and Integrity of Sir *Peter King*, tho' I had not the Honour of his Acquaintance, I resolved to pitch upon his Counsel, as the best I could think of, and sent Mr. *Scamms* to him, to desire his Opinion thereupon, who returned with Sir *Peter*'s Advice, That I should appear when called, and declare plainly every Thing I knew, before the Parliament; for *said he*, if the Lord *Godolphin* has been wanting in his Duty, it is but reasonable he should be exposed, which could not interfere with, but rather pro-

promote the Interest of the House of *Hanover*; he likewise desired me, to let some of the *Whig* Members I could trust, know what Questions were proper to be asked, when I was called upon this Affair, in order to let them into the perfect understanding of the whole, whereby that Mystery might be brought to light, perhaps, in quite another Manner than the Court designed; for the exposing of some Members, in both Houses, who had been elected by the Interest of the Ministry, would be of more effectual Service to the House of *Hanover*, than concealing *Godolphin*'s Crimes could do them Prejudice. He concluded, that by this Proceedure, I should do Justice to both Parties in general, and a particular Service to the Illustrious House; but desired me, first to consult Baron *Bothmar*, the *Hanover* Envoy, and tell him, this was Sir *Peter*'s Advice.

Whereupon Mr. *Soamms* went to the Baron, who approved of it, and begged me not to communicate it to any Body, or any thing that passed betwixt Sir *Peter*, himself, and me: upon which I consented to appear, and gave most of my Papers, relating to the Invasion, to Sir *Thomas Hanmer*, who kept them for some time.

The *Whig* Lords, who then all joined to screen *Godolphin*, resented my Readiness to appear in Parliament; for they all believed I was become a Creature of the Earl of *Oxford*, and had gone over to that Side, which the late Lord *Molesworth* in Friendship told me, and much more that was said of me: Whereupon I let him, and

several

ſeveral others into the whole Secret; which, afforded them abundance of Satisfaction.

What I have ſaid, muſt convince the Reader, that it was always in my Power to remove the Miſtake, that I had turned what they called *Tory*; but, I was willing to prevent any Diffidence that might happen among the Friends of the Houſe of *Hanover*, if I had divulged the Secrets which *Bothmar* enjoined me to keep; and ſo took every Thing upon myſelf, and let them continue in their Miſtakes, for the *Whig* Lords had all deſerted me the Earl of *Sunderland* only excepted, who did me all the Juſtice in the World, in ſpeaking to the Treaſurer *Godolphin* upon my Account, when every Body elſe declined it.

But to illuſtrate this Matter, how the *Hanover* Succeſſion was ſuppoſed to be in Danger, I muſt inform my Reader of ſome Accidents which happened towards the end of the late Reign, when the Minds of moſt People, who were well affected to that Intereſt, were filled with diſmal Apprehenſions of its Ruin.

By the Peace at *Utrecht*, the *Spaniſh* Monarchy was left in poſſeſſion of the Houſe of *Bourbon*; which made moſt People think, it would be in the *French* King's power, when he pleaſed, to force the *Pretender* upon us; but only hoped, that he durſt not venture, to throw off the Mask, ſo long as the *Emperor* continued the War, upon which, our Safety in *Britain*, ſo much depended; at leaſt, ſo long as the Queen lived, which moſt

People

People were afraid would not be long; because, of her Valetudinary Circumstances.

Upon this it was thought Convenient to encourage the Emperor to reject the Proposals of Peace with *France*, who being so shamefully abandoned by his Allies, and in no Condition to resist the United Power of *France* and *Spain*, probably might accept of the Terms of Peace *France* was then offering to him.

For this it was agreed by some People of great Circumstances, to raise a considerable Sum, which was to be committed to Managers to Equip a number of Ships of War, to be made Imperial Bottoms by a Deed of Sale under Trust, and consigned to Factors abroad: And that the Emperor should grant Commissions to the said Managers, to make War against *France* and *Spain* with their Squadrons, which were to Sail from different Ports, to the *West-Indies* for that end: That the *Buccaneers* there should not only have their Pardons, but be otherwise encouraged to join these Squadrons, by having the Emperor's Commissions granted to them; that so soon as they arrived at the place of *Rendezvous*, they should Surprize the *Havana*, and Attack the *Spanish Galleons*, and so Proclaim his Imperial Majesty in the *West-Indies* King of *Spain*, granting Protection to all that were willing to submit to his Authority.

Certain Shares of all Prizes and Contributions were to be given to the Emperor, with the Dominion of all Places to be Conquered; offering also, to carry the *Spanish* Regiments in the Imperial

rial Service, to the *West-Indies*, to Garriſon the Conquered Places: A Court of Admiralty was to be appointed, and every Thing done to render the Undertaking Eaſy, Profitable and Secure.

Theſe Propoſals were accordingly made, with good Succeſs to Merchants, *&c.* who undertook it; for there was no want of Money to manage it, of Ships, or able Mariners and Seamen, being juſt upon the cloſe of the War, *Anno* 1713.

It was at laſt reſolved to propoſe it to the Emperor, who, the Reader may eaſily ſuppoſe, would receive it with abundance of Satisfaction, and I had the Honour to be employed, and ſent to him for that End; whereupon I embarked privately to *Holland*, and went firſt to Baron *Bothmar*, Envoy of *Hanover*, at the *Hague*, and communicated to him the Project, and Reſolutions that had been taken, that he might ſend it in writing to his Court: The Baron was mightily pleaſed, and ſaid, it was very evident, the Queen and Miniſtry had bad Deſigns: For a Perſon concerned in the late Aſſaſſination-Plot againſt King *William*, had paſſed by ſome few Days before, for *England*, with her Majeſty's Paſs in his Pocket; he ſaid further, it would be a great Service, if I could perſwade the Emperor, to hold out the War till the Queen died, elſe his Maſter's Succeſſion to the *Britiſh* Crown, would be rendred precarious: He deſired me to write to him, and promiſed to ſend the Paper I gave him to his Maſter.

I went next to Baron *Heems*, the Imperial Miniſter, and ſpoke with him upon the ſame Affair, who

who gave me a Pass, and a Letter to Prince *Eugene:* I posted immediately to the upper *Rhine*, and came to the Camp, about the close of the Siege of *Landaw:* I was introduced to the Prince by Baron *Langedle*, Secretary of War, and laid the Scheme before his Highness, which he liked so very well, that he was pleased to say, *I had given him great Satisfaction:* and after some stay at his head Quarters, he told me, that *the want of Rest and other Accommodations, would be very uneasy*; and therefore desired me to go to *Stugard*, the Duke of *Wirtembergh*'s Chief Seat, where I should be accommodated according to my Mind, and he would take the first Opportunity to Converse more fully upon that Affair with me.

I received his Civilities with grateful Acknowledgments, and when he came to *Stugard*, he said, the Matter was of such Consequence, that he advised me forthwith to proceed to *Vienna*, and said, he would write to the Emperor about the Affair; and gave me his Pass. I obeyed his Orders, and took Post for *Vienna*, though the Plague was raging in that City: For nothing could frighten or discourage me, from doing what I believed was for the Interest of the Illustrious House of *Hanover:* So that I ventured upon all Hazards, and came there the beginning of *January* 1713-14. *S. N.*

Next Day I visited the famous *Monsieur de Leibnitz*, and told him my Story: he answered, That he would wait upon *Monsieur de Emmesen*, the Emperor's private Secretary, and let him know of my Arrival, and get us together; by which Means

Means the Affair would come directly before the Emperor himself, who he believed would not lay it before his Council, in the ordinary way, but would treat with me by his Cabinet Secretary.

Monſ de Leibnitz return'd my Viſit that very Evening, and told me, that his Imperial Majeſty had received a Letter from Prince *Eugene*, upon the Affair, that his Majeſty was well pleas'd to hear that I was come; and had ordered his ſaid Secretary to meet me privately at nine of the Clock next Morning, that being the appointed Hour for that End, in the Gardens of the Old *Favorite*, in the *Leopoldſtadt*; and that the Secretary had deſired me to ſend my Interpreter to his Houſe that ſame Evening, to adjuſt every thing for that Purpoſe.

Accordingly, next Morning I found him, as he told my Interpreter, and anſwered all his Objections, by which I ſoon found him to be a Man of excellent Senſe. He deſired me to draw up a Scheme of the whole, further than what I had then ſhewn him; mentioning at large the Method, how to put ſuch a *Glorious Deſign* (as he called it) in Execution, with a Margin to mark ſuch further Objections and *Notandums*, as might be made by his Imperial Majeſty, who would Communicate the Affair to a *Spaniſh Grandee* at his Court, who had been Viceroy of *Peru*, and none other: For the Emperor commanded him, to deſire me not to diſcover the Matter to any of his Miniſters, or let any one know either what my ſelf, or Buſineſs was; for he was ordered to receive all my Propoſals to be carried inſtantly to the Emperor himſelf, who would ſignify his Pleaſure accordingly.

Next

Next Morning the Secretary sent me Word, that his Imperial Majesty desired me to draw up what Papers were necessary to be laid before him, as soon as possible.

When I had finished the Papers, I sent them to the Secretary, who delivered them to the Emperor; and when he had perused and considered them, he sent me his Objections; which I obviated the best way I could, and returned them to the Secretary, and in few Days afterwards, we had a long Discourse upon the *British* Affairs.

He said, his Imperial Majesty was dissatisfied with the Treatment he received from *Great Britain*, at the Peace of *Utrecht*, and insinuated a Distrust of their future Conduct.

I endeavoured to convince him, that all the Transactions in *Great-Britain*, which I confessed the Emperor had no reason to take kindly, were done by the Ministry, only for their own Ends; but they who sent me with these Proposals, had all along shown a hearty Zeal, and Affection, to the Interest of the most August House of *Austria*; that the whole World was sensible of the Vigorous Efforts *Great-Britain* had made, while under the *Whigs* Administration, in Conjunction with the Emperor; and therefore, I hoped that from his Imperial Majesty's great Honour, and Justice, he would place all that had been done in the late dishonourable Treaty at *Utrecht*, to the Account of the *Tory* Party, and their Adherents, the *Jacobites*.

He

He answer'd, he was afraid his Master would be obliged to come into the Peace, for the Reasons formerly mentioned, which if he should make with *France*, *Great-Britain* might perhaps repent their deserting him; for they had no reason to blame him, for making the best Terms he could for himself, nor to expect he should trouble himself any more with their Matters; and that *France*, after Peace made with the Emperor, might perhaps endeavour to fix the *Pretender* upon the *British* Throne: Which, considering how he had been treated, it was none of his Business to prevent.

Upon this Reply, I was obliged to exert a little Courage, and begged leave to say he was mistaken; for the Revolution Party in *Great Britain*, were very much concerned at the Treatment his Imperial Majesty had lately received from their Queen and Ministry, and made all the Opposition they could to prevent it, but were ever over-power'd; and finding themselves not able to assist him, as they used to do, when they had the Queen, and Ministry on their side, they now demonstrated their Affections to the most August House of *Austria*, by irrefragable Arguments of their Sincerity; by which it would appear, that the Emperor, with their Assistance, could make himself Master of the *Spanish West-Indies*; or, at least, wound his Enemies in the Vitals, and attack the very Foundation of his Enemies Support, if he would but enter into the Measures I had the Honour to lay before him; by which, I doubted not but my Friends would make that separate Peace, the House of *Bourbon* had

had made with the Maritime Powers, such a Snare to entangle them, as all the Precaution they were then Masters of, could not easily prevent.

So that his Majesty had no reason to look upon the Revolution Interest with such an indifferent Aspect, which had, with Success, declared itself so heartily for the Interest of his August House, for if he did, he would only gratify his Enemies thereby; but especially the *Tory* Ministry, who wished nothing more than to establish the *Pretender* upon the Throne; which would effectually ruin his Friends in *Britain*, who had done so great Things for him formerly, and now given a fresh Proof of their Affections once more, by the generous Offers I had brought along with me of such great Services, at the expence of their own Blood and Treasure, without the Charge of one Shilling to him, or one drop of the Blood of any of his Subjects. Which Undertaking, tho' there were but few engaged in it, they had sufficient Means in their Hands to make all that I had offered effectual.

I presumed to affirm, that there was not a Revolutioner in *Great-Britain* less hearty and affectionate than my Constituents, and would as heartily venture both Money and Life, upon Occasion; for we were all resolved to let the World see what we would do for him, if the Foundation was laid.

I added, that the Emperor ought to consider the *Pretender* was so much in the *French* King's Interest, that he could be no more, in effect, than

a *Viceroy*, and must receive his Orders, being under such Obligations to him; and if the Powers of *Great-Britain*, *France* and *Spain*, were United, *Holland* must quickly fall into the Hands of *France*, and then how long, pray ye, shall the Emperor keep his Court at *Vienna?* Or, indeed, have any footing in the Empire? For, be assured, the *Pretender*'s dependance upon *France* would prove too strong for any Confederacy or Alliance the Emperor could make: so that in this Case he might say as *Ulysses* said to *Polyphemus*, that he should only have the Honour to be last Devoured.

The Secretary confessed what I said was true, and hoped to let me know more of his Imperial Majesty's Pleasure the next time we met.

We met the very next Day, and he told me, that he Reported faithfully to the Emperor what past betwixt us, who order'd him to let me know that he had weighed my Overtures and Answers to all the Objections he had made, and that his Imperial Majesty liked both very well, and that he received them as demonstrative Arguments, that the *British Whigs* were not concerned in what had been so lately done to his Prejudice.

He told me also, that his Imperial Majesty desired me to stay some time at *Vienna*, and keep my Affairs secret; and that he would come to a Resolution as soon as possible: Then he asked me if I would embark as one in that noble Undertaking myself; I answered, Yes, and would very freely venture my Life in such an honourable Attempt,

tempt, tending so much to the Glory and Interest of his Imperial Majesty; and I believed I could Promise, in the Name of my Constituents, to raise such a flame in *America*, as the United Powers of *France* and *Spain* should not easily find Means to extinguish.

The *Treaty* of *Baden* in the mean time went on, which, I believe, kept me so long at *Vienna*; for the Emperor waited the Event thereof, before he could resolve upon the other Affair.

It is to no purpose to trouble the Reader with any more Particulars of this Business, the trifling Excuses, Objections, *&c.* made to prevent the Enterprize, which, had it met with Encouragement answerable to so great a Design, would have proved of too great a Consequence, not to be easily discerned by every intelligent Person. I shall therefore drop it, to inform Posterity, that I employed my spare Hours at *Vienna*, in sending to the Electress *Sophia*, all the Light I got, and what Information I could procure of the *British* Affairs.

Monsieur *de Leibnitz*, shewed me a Letter, dated 1 *June*, 1714, wherein *she desired me to come to* Hanover, *that she might have the Pleasure to see the Person, who had been so Zealous to serve her.* Likewise her Niece, the *Rowgrafin*, Daughter to the Elector *Palatine*, and first Lady to the Court of *Hanover*, desired Monsieur *de Leibnitz*, to invite me to that Court, with Assurance to be very welcome there; and, at the same time, I received the following Letter from the Imperial Secreta-

ry at *Laxenbourg*, where the Emperor had gone a Hunting, *viz.*

Sir, *I do myſelf the Honour to acquaint you, that his* Imperial *and* Catholick *Majeſty is to return to the* Favorita *next Saturday, and that you are to have an Audience of him the Wedneſday following, when you will have the Satisfaction to hear, from his own Mouth, the grateful Senſe of his Obligations to the honeſt Party of* Great-Britain ; *and how much he approves the noble Sentiments and generous Reſolutions, which reign in the Spirits of your Friends.*

I hope to be Witneſs to the Honour deſigned by his Imperial *Majeſty, in beſtowing upon you the Marks of his Grace and Favour, as a Proof, that your Perſon has been acceptable to him ; and that he intirely approves of your Conduct. I ſhall have Pleaſure alſo in having the Honour to Embrace you myſelf ; and to aſſure you, that I am, and ſhall always be, with the utmoſt Zeal and Affection,*

Sir, *Your moſt Humble and Obedient Servant,*

Laxenbourgh, 27 *June*, 1714. EMMESEN.

Upon the Emperor's return, the Secretary told me, that tho' his *Imperial* Majeſty was pleaſed with my Propoſals, and was fully ſatisfied, that nothing could be more for his Glory and Intereſt, yet he was obliged to refer it till he had executed ſome Reſolutions he had made, in order to ſave the poor *Catalans*, and then I ſhould hear farther from him.

I prepared myself for this Honour, and gave the Speech I had drawn up in *English*, to my Interpreter, to be translated into *German*, who was to repeat it after me; and on the Day appointed, I went to the *New-Favorita*, conducted by Secretary *Emmesen*, and was introduced by the *Count de Monte Sancto*, Chamberlain for the Day: Upon my entry into the Room, I made a kind of Curtsie, (as the Ladies do) which is their manner of Salutation, then advancing two or three Paces farther, I made another Leg, and a third at a proper distance, where I stood and addressed him as follows:

May it please your *Imperial* and *Catholick* Majesty, upon the late Treatment you have received from *Great Britain*, your *Imperial* Majesty may, perhaps, suspect my Sincerity; and that my Constituents, have no other Intention, than to draw your *Imperial* and *Catholick* Majesty into Measures, that may prove detrimental to your Interest. I must own, with Sorrow, the prevailing Party seem not so careful of your *Imperial* Majesty's Interest, as formerly: But I most humbly beg your *Imperial* Majesty to believe, that there is a considerable Party in *Great-Britain*, unfeignedly attached to the Interest of your most August House, who are both able and willing to shew your *Imperial* Majesty, before the World, what they can, and will do for the Interest of a Prince, they so much Honour and Esteem.

But being informed by Monsieur *Emmesen*, that you do not think it proper, at present, to accept the Proposals I have had the Honour to lay before

you, I can only assure your *Imperial* Majesty that my Constituents continue their Zeal and Affection, whereof they have given you such a Proof.

For me, I shall think it my Duty and Honour to be employed in any Thing that may contribute to your Glory and Interest.

I pray God long to preserve upon the *Imperial* and *Catholick* Thrones, a Life so valuable to all, who have the Good of Mankind, and the Liberties of *Europe* at Heart.

His *Imperial* Majesty was pleased to say, That he lay under very great Obligations to the Queen, and People of *Great-Britain*; That I had brought such a sincere Testimony of the honest Party's Affection there, that they might depend upon all the thankful Acknowledgments and Returns in his Power; That tho' he was satisfy'd, nothing could be more for his Glory and Interest than the Proposals I made in the Name of my Friends; yet the Regard he was obliged to have for the poor *Catalans*, who had deserved so well, prevailed with him. to do something or other for their Preservation without delay, and so could not positively resolve upon what I had offered thus visibly to his own Interest, at least at that time: your own Person, *said he*, hath been very acceptable, and I am very well pleased with your Conduct.

I shall only add, that the Emperor was pleased to do me much Honour, when I retired from his Presence, where I had been near an Hour, I went to

to *Monsieur de Leibnitz*, and told him how I was received, which pleased him exceedingly, especially with my Success in one Point, which we believed to be material for the Service of the House of *Hanover*; and with good management, might be improved to answer the Ends that Court had then in View.

Next Day the Secretary presented me with the Emperor's Picture in Gold, set round with Diamonds; saying, he was Commanded, by the Emperor, to make me that Present, as a mark of his Grace, and special Esteem for my Person; that he approved of my Conduct whilst I was at his Court, and hoped I would value the Present, rather from the Giver, than from its intrinsick Value, tho' it was such as used to be bestowed on the Envoys of Crowned Heads.

He added, that his Imperial Majesty ordered him to use his best Rhetorick, and the most obliging Expressions he could, when he delivered it; and concluded, that these were his Commands, which he doubted not, I would Esteem more than all the Words he could use, since all that he could say, was not to be compared with such a Compliment from the most Sacred *Roman Emperor*, and first Prince of the Universe.

He presented my Interpreter also with a Gold Chain and a Medal.

I returned the Secretary's Visit the next Day, which I spent in taking Leave of several other Persons at Court.

The laſt Night I was there, *Monſieur de Leibnitz* did me the Favour to Sup with me, and gave me a Letter to her Royal Highneſs, now Princeſs of *Wales*, one to Baron *Bernſtorf*, and ſome others, to the *Hanoverian* Miniſters, he delivered to my Interpreter. We ſat ſome Hours together, and then he took his Leave with real Marks of ſincere Affection and Reſpect.

Before I left *Vienna*, I preſented Mr. *Fury*, Agent to the *Engliſh Levant* Company, who lived there at that time, to the Secretary, as a proper Perſon to be truſted to carry on the Correſpondence, which the Emperor had ordered me to eſtabliſh betwixt us, and ſettled with Mr. *Fury* every Thing that was needful for that end, giving another Name than my own to make his Directions to me by.

I mention this, becauſe, by that Correſpondence, thus fixed, all the Schemes for forming the Emperor's *Eaſt-India* Company, were tranſmitted *hinc inde* betwixt *London* and *Vienna*, *vide* Appendix.

I took Poſt for *Hanover*, where I arrived in *July*, 1714, and a little after the death of that moſt Excellent Princeſs, the late Electreſs *Sophia*. I was preſented to the Elector, now his preſent Majeſty, and afterwards to her Royal Highneſs, now Princeſs of *Wales*, with *Monſieur de Leibnitz*'s Letter, which ſhe receiv'd very Graciouſly, as they Both did me. She told me, that ſhe had ſeen the Papers I had ſent to the late Electreſs, which had procured me her particular Reſpects.

I want Words to expreſs the winning, eaſy, affable Behaviour, and ſweet good Temper of her Royal Highneſs at that time, to all our Countrymen, particularly to my Self; I told her of all my Proceedings at *Vienna*, and of the good Diſpoſition I left the Emperor in, towards the Succeſſion of the Illuſtrious Houſe of *Hanover* to the *Britiſh* Crown: That ſhe would ſoon hear my Lord *Middleton*, who was going to *Vienna* from the *Pretender*, would be but very indifferently received at that Court.

I ſhall not trouble the Reader with the uncommon Civilities I received then at the Court of *Hanover*, which the *Engliſh*, that were there, can teſtify; and in return, I took all Opportunities to let her Royal Highneſs know of the *Britiſh* Affairs in general, and what concerned her own Family in particular.

Baron *Bernſtorf* deſired me to draw up a Memorial, with the Subſtance of the Papers I ſent the late Electreſs, and my Opinion of what was proper to be done at that time, to preſerve the *Hanover* Succeſſion to the *Britiſh* Crown, which I did accordingly; mentioning, briefly, what I have already wrote in theſe *Memoirs*; the State of the different Parties in *Great-Britain*, with my Obſervations upon the Practice and Management of the then Miniſtry. I preſumed alſo to ſay, that the number of thoſe, who affected the late happy Revolution Intereſt, was ſix to one; but whether the odds continues, or to which Side the Ballance preponderates now, I ſhall not preſume to determine here.

Next, I obſerved, that great Endeavours were made to perſwade the whole Nation, that the Elector was neither framed for, nor fond of ſucceeding to the *Britiſh* Crown, and would hazard nothing upon that Account; which I believed was inculcated with no other View, but to poſſeſs the well-affected with ſuch Apprehenſions, that ſo deſpairing of the *Hanover* Succeſſion, they might abandon the neceſſary Means for its Preſervation, and be diſpoſed to comply peaceably with the *Pretender*'s Succeſſion. I therefore thought it Neceſſary to uſe all Means to open the Eyes of the *Engliſh*, and lead them gently into the true diſcovery of their Danger, by convincing them, that the Methods the Miniſtry had taken at the Peace of *Utrecht*, had irreparably put it into the Power of *France*, to force the *Pretender* upon us when they pleaſed, if we did not bury our Party Diviſions, and be more unanimous to preſerve the Conſtitution.

That it would be of infinite Service to the Elector, if he gave us ſome publick Aſſurance, that he would not forgo his Pretenſions to the Crown, but would ſtand by his Friends with an irreſiſtible Reſolution, which would give every one of us new Courage, and effectually defeat his Enemies Deſigns.

I repreſented likewiſe, that the ſtrongeſt and moſt reſolute part of the Revolution People was in *Ireland*; That the whole Province of *Ulſter* would live and die, as one Man, for the Cauſe; That they were, even then, concerting Meaſures whereby to defend the Proteſtant Succeſſion againſt all

all its Oppoſers. That it would be a great encouragement to that People, for the Elector to give Hopes and Aſſurance of proper Rewards to all ſuch as teſtified their Zeal and Affection to his Title, and begged him to look back ſo far as the Reign of King *William*, when the Gariſons of *London-Derry* and *Inniskilling*, made ſuch a noble Defence, that the Revolution Eſtabliſhment, nay, the whole Kingdom of *Great Britain* was preſerved from being a Seat of War, and conſequently they deſerved to be aſcertained of having Juſtice done to them.

That, it would be Neceſſary to entertain a Correſpondence both at Home, and in *France*, whereby exact Intelligence might be had of what was doing in favour of the *Pretender*, but eſpecially in the Sea-Ports, where any Embarkation might be ſuſpected.

That, as ſoon as the *French* King declared himſelf in Earneſt, the Queen ſhould be Addreſſed from all parts of the Nation, to call over the Proteſtant Succeſſor.

That, the Electoral Family take care never to be concerned in the different Intereſt of *Whig* and *Tory*, ſo as to appear for one ſide more than another.

That, upon the leaſt appearance of any Landing from *France*, we ſhould take Arms in *Great Britain*, and a proper number of Troops from *Ireland* ſhould land in the *South* of *Scotland*, from which it is parted by a narrow Channel, to be joined

joined by the *Cameronians*, &c. who would all be so Zealous, that they would march unanimously to *England*, and give the Revolution Party there, an Opportunity and Example to appear for the Cause: which the *English* seldom or never do, but when a Force comes to assist them; Witness the Civil War betwixt King *Charles* I. and the *Parliament*, and on sundry other Occasions.

To conclude, I thought it proper to apprehend the chief Men, and Heads of the *Jacobite* Party.

With this *Memorial*, I proposed a Method of Correspondence betwixt *Great-Britain* and *Hanover*; which when it was presented to, and perused by his Electoral Highness, he produced, and caused it to be read in Council; and next Day, at Court, he told me, that he was extremely well pleased with it; as did also Baron *Bernstorf*, and Baron *Gortz*, Chamber President, who Complimented me much upon it: and said, it was an honest *Memoire*, compiled for the true Interest of the Succession.

Not long after this, through indefatigable Labour and Application, I was attack'd with a fit of Sickness for a Week or two, which the Court seem'd to be sorry for, as they expressed upon several Occasions. And then came the News of the QUEEN's Death, and his *Electoral Highness*'s being proclaimed KING, upon which the whole Court very seasonably rejoiced; and, when I recovered, I went to kiss his Majesty's Hand, and Congratulated him as follows:

May

May it please your MAJESTY,

It is with great Thankfulness to God, and infinite Satisfaction to my Self, that I have, now, the Honour to kiss your Hand, as my King and Sovereign: I am at a loss for Words to express my Joy upon this Occasion, and wish your Majesty a long and happy Reign over a Dutiful and Obedient People.

His Majesty thanked me, and said, *I had already proved my Sincerity and Affection to him.*

Next, I addressed the Princess of *Wales*, in the following Words.

May it please your *Royal Highness*,

I have, at last, seen the Happy Day, for which I have been very often willing to lose my Life, and which I have as often ventured upon that Account: My Joy is so exceeding great, that I think, all my Labour and Industry is more than Rewarded.

Which Professions of mine, I have a most convincing Proof, were intirely credited; for they have taken me at my Word.

Her *Royal Highness* was pleased to express her hearty Thanks, saying, *She knew I had spoken from my very Heart.*

The King was pleased to present me, by the Hands of Baron *Bernstorf*, his first Minister, with a Couple of Gold Medals of some Value; one with his own, and the other, with his Mother's Effigies: The Baron told me, his Majesty had sent me

me this Present, not as a Reward of my great Services, which were not to be compensated with such Trifles; but only as a Token of his Royal Favour: But when he came to *Great Britain*, he had something in View for me of much greater Value; which indeed I never yet had.

The *English* came to *Hanover* in great Numbers, it is easily known upon what Design; and upon all these remarkable Accidents, I wrote the following Letter to *Monsieur de Leibnitz* at *Vienna*.

S. N. Hanover, 25 August, 1714.

SIR,

It is with the extremest Pleasure I have the Honour to Congratulate you upon the great and good News of His Majesty's Accession to the Crown of Great Britain; *and being now become his Subject, I must not presume to speak so freely as I did before.*

It will be much for the King's Service, and the Happiness of Great Britain, *that you instantly leave* Vienna, *and make haste to* Hanover; *for, by reason of your universal Knowledge, particularly of the* British *Affairs, your long Experience, and great Reputation with the King, you are justly entituled, more than any Man in the World, to be his chief Counsellor before he goes to* England, *whose Manners and Language he is but too much a stranger to.*

Pray

Pray pardon me, to put you in Mind, that the Success of all great Enterprizes depends much upon the Power which gives the first Motion, that one wrong Step being made, cannot easily be retrieved, and considering the present Divisions and Animosities in Britain, *it will require uncommon Application to extricate him out of the Difficulties, which will unavoidably attend him, if he offers to take part with any one Side more than another.*

I am sorry to tell you, That I also find the Hanoverian *Ministers altogether unacquainted with our Country Affairs; that even* Bernstorf *himself, is led by the Nose in those Matters, by an ignorant Fellow called* Robatham, *who has nothing to recommend him, but his own private Interest, Party Rage, and Insolence enough to do too much Mischief at this Critical Juncture, upon which all our future Happiness depends.*

Pray excuse this long Letter, and make haste; In the mean time, do me the Justice to believe, that I am with the greatest Sincerity and Respect, Sir, Yours, &c.

KER, *of* Kersland.

I likewise wrote to Mr. *Fury*, to use his Endeavours with the other, to make no Excuse or Delay; but being an old Man, and not able to make long Journeys, he reached not *Hanover* till three Days after the King went for *Holland*.

It was Presumption in me, to meddle with Matters out of my *Province*, and to use such freedom with his Majesty, as was Necessary at that time,

time, would ruin my Pretences to his Favour: But, from my ſincere Affection to his Perſon, and Zeal for the Glory and Happineſs of his Reign, when his Majeſty arrived at the *Hague*, I drew up a ſecond Memorial, and gave it Baron *Gortz*, to lay before the King, which he read, and promiſed to do it very chearfully, wiſhing his Maſter had many ſuch Subjects, that deſired his Intereſt more than their own. And when we met in *England*, I was to have an Account of its Succeſs.

It would be Superfluous to publiſh this Memorial here; becauſe a Friend promiſed to do it for me, with ſome other Papers, which are not ſo proper to be expoſed by me at large; and therefore I ſhall trouble the Reader with a few of the moſt material Contents only.

After my Apology, I deſcribed the ſeveral different Factions, and their Original; that they did much Hurt and Miſchief, both to the King and Nation; that if the King took part with any one of them, it would incenſe the reſt, and make them his Enemies; for, not having Places and Poſts enough for them, all thoſe, who were not preferred, would, perhaps, juſtly enough, believe themſelves as conſiderably deſerving as thoſe that were; and conſequently, would be ſure to run always Counter to the Court. That it would ſignify nothing for his Majeſty to change Sides afterwards, for the diſaffected Party would ſtill Oppoſe him, and clog the Wheels, ſo as to make them drive heavily.

That

That *Great-Britain* was not like *Germany*, where the greatest part of the Property is in the Persons of the first Rank or Quality; but in *England*, nineteen parts in twenty of the Property, and a much greater proportion of the Riches, is in the Hands of a middle sort of People, which composed the Body of the Nation, who, for the most part, had nothing in View, but the general Good of the whole; such as the regular Administration of Justice, the increase and encouragement of Trade, and the Manufactures of the Kingdom, *&c.* That it was the King's Interest to go into those Measures with these People last mentioned, upon which the true Interest of the Country depended; and by these Means he would make the Body of the Nation his Friends, which was always strong enough to defend him from all the Discontents and Caprices of any great Men, who might happen to be Disobliged.

That it was dangerous for his Majesty to give the People (the Commons) the least Opportunity to fancy that he was led by his Favourite Ministers, but especially by Foreigners, to which the *British* Nation always had a particular Prejudice, being persuaded, that all their Calamities and Misfortunes, both of King and People, did naturally proceed from this great Evil; Witness the Reigns of King *James*, and *Charles* I. and II. But Queen *Elizabeth*, who had the wisest Ministry that ever a Sovereign in *England* could boast of, convinced her People, that she over-ruled and directed them, notwithstanding which, she was as much esteemed and beloved, as some of her Successors were hated and despised.

That taking care to distribute deserved Rewards, would make every one forward, but to neglect it, would provoke them to Indifference and Aversion; instancing a Passage or two in the Reign of King *William*, mentioning some Inconveniencies that great Prince hurried himself into, by his being Advised, too much, by his Foreign Favourites, the Earls of *Portland* and *Albemarle*.

That he should entertain some Men Eminent for Knowledge and Integrity, to inform him, in Private, of every Thing he ought to know; whereby his Ministers, finding he understood Mysteries by other Hands than theirs, durst not venture to impose upon him, which would persuade the whole Kingdom, that he was not influenced or byassed by bad Counsel, as some of his Predecessors had been.

I added, That he should, by all Means, discourage Bribery at the Parliamentary Election, and Distinctions of Parties, and factious Divisions; but more particularly, he should endeavour to extinguish the odious Names and Characters of *Whig* and *Tory*, which is to be done by preferring Men of Merit only, without regard to one Party more than another. That this was the only proper time to put these great and laudable Designs in Execution; for the most part of the Nation, to wit, the middle Degree and Rank of People, seemed to be weary of all such Differences and Divisions: That by such Royal generous Practices, the whole Kingdom would look upon him as their common Father, sent to deliver them, and would respect him accordingly.

I

I concluded, that our Plantations Abroad were in such perplexed Circumstances, that *Great-Britain* would be thereby affected, at last, more than could be then imagined, since much of our Riches and Trade came from thence.

I presumed also to say, there were two sorts of *Whigs* in *Great-Britain*, which might be distinguished into the Court and Country Party; whereof the last was, in my humble Opinion, the honestest part of the Nation; the other, only such as had nothing in their View, but to grasp at all Posts and Preferments whatsoever, for themselves and their Minions.

When his Majesty embarked for *Great-Britain*, just as I was going aboard with the rest of the Retinue, Colonel *Chichester*, Brother to the Earl of *Dunnagald*, and Colonel *Billingsly*, being along with me, another Gentleman, who seemed to be one of the Company, took me aside, and told me he came that Morning to the *Hague*, but hearing we were gone to *Rotterdam*, for our last Embarkation, he followed to speak with me, being willing to trust himself only to my Management.

He said, he came from *Barleduc*, to make such Discoveries as very much concerned the King's Safety; and assured me, that Matters had gone so far in the Queen's Reign, in favour of the *Pretender*, that still there was some Attempts to be made, and if I would encourage him, he would fix a Correspondence with me, and would give a faithful Account of every Thing that should be acted a-

gainſt the Intereſt of King *George*. I anſwered, that I could not then make him any Promiſe, neither was it Prudent in me to Correſpond with him, that being the Secretary of State's Province; but, till the Miniſtry was eſtabliſhed, and as it might be, for his Majeſty's Service, to know what his Enemies were doing, I told him I would receive his Advices from time to time, and would encourage him with all the Supplies my private Circumſtances would allow, till ſuch time as his Accounts and Advices proved to be of any Conſequence to be laid before the King; ſo we both promiſed and exchanged proper Directions, and parted.

When we came to *London*, Dr. *Brandenſhagen* gave me the following Letter from the worthy Monſieur *De Leibnitz*, being ordered to deliver it with his own Hand.

SIR, *Hanover, Octob.* 8th, 1714.

I Had the Honour of yours at Vienna, *which Mr.* Fury *delivered me, having made all the Diſpatch poſſible; but the bad Weather, and my advanced Age, did not permit me to Arrive here till his Majeſty was gone.*

I believe he might have been found at the Hague, *if I had taken Poſt; but I was afraid he would have been too much Crowded, to have Leiſure enough to hearken to me upon ſo weighty a Subject; nevertheleſs, I reſolved to come to* London, *but whether with the Princeſs, or at ſome other time, I cannot be poſitive.*

I

I am glad you have discharged your Duty to your King and Country so faithfully, having read a Copy of the Memorial *you sent with great Pleasure: I am entirely of your Opinion, and so was the late Electress: I hope nothing will divert his Majesty from following what is so much for his Interest, nor make him concern himself with the Party Quarrel of* Whig *and* Tory; *but to employ People of Merit and Worth in his Service, without respect to either, to be punctual in doing Justice to all, and generously rewarding them who deserve it.*

Leaving, by all Means, the Elections of Parliament to the Peoples free Choice, discouraging Bribery, and such unsuitable Practices as have been used in former Reigns, which will produce an Assembly of Men of Honour and Worth; who will have nothing but the general Good of the Nation, and other generous Things in View.

I both Wish and Hope that our German *Ministers, will never offer to meddle in* British *Affairs, which would not only be very unjust in it self, but also very reasonably, make the King lose the Affections of his People.*

I shall be glad of a constant Correspondence with you: Dr. Brandenshagen, *an honest* German, *will receive your Letters, and forward them to me, under his Cover; you may safely trust him: I wish I may hear good News from you, and shall always remain with great Affection and Esteem,*

Your most Obedient Servant, LEIBNITZ.

Baron *Gortz*, according to Promiſe, told me, his Majeſty had graciouſly received my laſt *Memorial*, and aſſured me, that if I asked any Thing from the King for my Self, I need not doubt of Succeſs; his Majeſty having told him, at *Hanover*, that he would take particular Care of me when he came on this Side; he likewiſe promiſed to be a faithful ſpecial Agent himſelf, with the King, to obtain my Requeſt; for, he ſaid, he was convinced his Majeſty could never forget my great Services: And, truly, I muſt be ſo Arrogant, as to believe, that no body elſe could have thought it, till once they peruſe theſe *Memoirs*.

Upon this Propoſal of Baron *Gortz*, I conſulted ſome Merchants in the City, who deſired me to ask the Government of *Bermudas*, in the *Weſt-Indies*; which if obtained, it would encourage them to commence a Trade, which would be Profitable to the whole Nation, as well as to themſelves, whereas it had been, hitherto, only a Charge.

My Friends, the Merchants, eaſily agreed to all Advantages I propoſed, becauſe they could have no ſuch Expectations, but from ſuch a Governour, who had been appointed by their Advice.

Whereupon, I drew up a Petition to the King, and delivered it to Baron *Gortz*, who received it with abundance of Pleaſure, and ſaid, he was glad I had given him an Opportunity to ſerve me, that he would deliver it to his Majeſty, and ſecond it with all his Heart.

I went to Baron *Bernstorf*, and told him what I had done, not doubting to Succeed, since I was willing to accept that Government as a full Recompence for all my Services and Expences I had been at to serve his Majesty, which he knew had been all out of my own Pocket, and that my last Voyage to *Germany*, cost be above a Thousand Pounds, besides all other Charges upon many Occasions.

Bernstorf said, *He would likewise back my Petition, for it was very Just.*

But I was not a little surprised, when I heard from a *German* Favourite of the Baron's, not long afterwards, that I could not Succeed, If I made not Monsieur *Robatham* my Friend, by a Present of Five Hundred Guineas, because he had such prodigious Influence with *Bernstorf*, that I could not expect Success another way.

I answered, not without Passion, that I was sorry to find such Practices suffered so very early among the Foreign Ministers, having lately given so seasonable an Advice to the contrary; that I would rather want, nay, renounce all Pretences to a Post, than give one of them a Farthing. The Gentleman replied, that the *Hanoverian* Ministers did not look upon themselves as Foreigners, for sure, said he, you cannot think they are come here only to learn your Language; if you resolve to keep your Money, depend upon it, you shall never have that Government, notwithstanding all your Pretences, which I know are very Just and very Deserving.

And accordingly, in five Days afterwards, that Government was given to another; upon which I went to Baron *Gortz*, who expreſſed the greateſt Concern for my Diſappointment, and told me, *Bernſtorf* and *Bothmar*, were the only Foreigners, who interfered in *Britiſh* Affairs; and that he found with Sorrow, it was not in his Power to help me, tho, he well knew, how much I deſerved the King's Favour and Benevolence.

Next time I met with *Bernſtorf*, he looked with quite another Air than he uſed to do, knowing me not to be a Man for their Purpoſe.

Notwithſtanding this Treatment, and all theſe Diſappointments, my Affection to his Majeſty was not in the leaſt leſſened; for I continued all Neceſſary Correſpondence at my own Expence, with the ſame Zeal and Application as formerly; and as if I had enjoyed all the Tokens and Demonſtrations of his Royal Bounty and Favour: for, I muſt now Confeſs, with Sorrow and Shame, that my too forward Zeal, rendred me ſo infatuated, that I not only ſpent what Money I had, but even borrowed large Sums from others, to procure Advices, which I thought ſo much for the Intereſt of my King and Country.

In my Correſpondence, I was informed of ſeveral material Deſigns againſt the Government; particularly, from the Gentleman I met at *Rotterdam*: whom I encouraged with what little Supplies I could afford, never doubting, to be at leaſt faithfully refunded: upon this Gentleman's Informations, I was likewiſe obliged to fix

a

a Correspondence with many Places in *Britain*; to find out how his Accounts agreed with theirs, and how much they were to be depended on; for they related very much to Matters of the greatest Importance that were upon the Anvil at that Time in *Great-Britain*, in concert with the Court, at *Barleduc*.

Having at last got to the perfect understanding of this Affair, and found it ripe for Discovery; I wrote the following Letter to *Bernstorf*.

London, June 7th, 1715.

SIR,

I think it my Duty to acquaint you, that there are some Things now in Agitation against the Government; which in all appearance, will come to Light very soon. There hath also been some Pains taken to convince me, that the Government hath used me very Ill; and that I am deceived, if I depend upon any grateful Return for my Services: And that, if I go into some Measures, and Designs, that are now forming against him, I may have it in my Power to retrieve my Misfortunes, by not only having my Peace made with the Pretender, *but many other advantageous Offers, too long here to trouble you withal, and threatning me with Ruin, upon Refusal.*

In spite of all my private Resentments, which I may justly conceive, against you know whom: I am entirely in his Majesty's Interest, and will venture any thing to serve him, if he continues to believe that I am any way qualify'd for that end.

I

I have already engaged several Persons, particularly a Clergyman, who is willing, upon encouragement, to discover some private Transactions of the Cabal, being at the bottom of the whole Affair.

I depend upon your Diligence, to lay this before the King without delay; which I should have, by no Means, troubled you with, had not you told me his Majesty Commanded me to make you my only Confidant in every Thing of this kind.

Your Humble Servant,
KER, of *Kersland.*

I gave this Letter to a certain Great Minion of the Baron's, before three other Gentlemen, who will testify the Truth upon Occasion.

The Baron's Friend told me afterwards, that he had deliver'd it into his own Hands, but had no Answer: I desired him to apply, and press for his Commands, which, he told me, he had requested every Day, and could never receive any other Answer, but that he would consider on it.

I was much surprised at these Delays in Matters of such Consequence, but could find no Reason for it for some time.

I hope no Person will think me so foolish as to imagine, that the King's Chief Minister of *Hanover*, coold be in the *Pretender*'s Interest, nor do I Charge him with it; but the Reader may reasonably believe, that there was some Reason for it or other, which I shall lay open, both as to *Fact* and Opinion, in its proper place.

I

I writ him a second Letter, and sent him abundance of Messages; at last, he vouchsafed this Answer, that he had communicated the Affair to the Duke of *Montrose*, who told him, there was nothing in what I said, nor any Commotions or Appearance of an Insurrection, as I had told him.

Notwithstanding all this, which an Ill-natured Man may reckon Impudent or Insolent enough, in a few Days his Majesty went to the House, and acquainted them with the Danger with which both he and the Kingdom were threatned, and demanded the Necessary Supplies upon that Occasion, as by the Speech will appear.

Then *Bernstorf* sent a Messenger, desiring me to go to the Lord *Townshend* Secretary of State, and lay before him what I knew of those Matters; but it was then too late, for the Earl of *Marr* was gone to the *Highlands*, and the Chief Men on that side separated.

No doubt the Reader will think I ought to have communicated those Advices first of all to the *British* Ministry, who, doubtless, were the only proper Persons to receive them; but he must know, that upon the News coming to *Hanover*, that the Elector was proclaimed King, and my receiving the Medals above mentioned, Baron *Bernstorf* told me, he was ordered to desire the continuance of my Zeal to his Majesty's Person and Government; and, that whatever I might discover, of Consequence, for his Interest, should be first of all communicated to Him; who was likewise commanded to defray all my Charges upon

on that, or any other Account; which I hope, will be accepted as a good Reaſon, why I proceeded this way, though I muſt acknowledge, at the ſame time, it was a great Breach of my Duty, and a great Prejudice done to my Country; but the Truth is, my Affection to the King, together with my Belief, that it was his Special Commands (as *Bernſtorf* told me) made me both Active and Paſſive in many Things, I have ſince had leiſure enough to be aſhamed of and repent.

But I am weary of this Subject, which occaſioned the effuſion of ſo much Blood, both in *Scotland* and *England*; which, from what I have already ſaid, was in a great meaſure owing to *Bernſtorf*'s Management, and thoſe in Concert with him; who by ſeizing the Earl of *Marr*, and ſome others at that time, might have eaſily prevented the Rebellion, and conſequently the Deſtruction of ſo many Noble Families, who are now Sufferers thereby.

When I was diſappointed of all my Endeavours, to prevent the Rebellion, which I foreſaw coming upon us apace; and not deſiring to be a Spectator of the Miſeries my own Country muſt ſuffer thereby, I embarked once more for *Holland*.

And when I came to *Rotterdam*, I wrote to *Monſieur de Leibnitz*, a melancholy Story of my Country's Affairs; and of what Pains I had taken, to prevent unavoidable Miſchief, but all in vain, becauſe of the Baron's Negligence, and the other Foreign Miniſters, then at *London*; except

cept Baron *Gortz:* I told him, That they were so taken up with amassing the Wealth of *Great-Britain*, that they never thought of any Thing else. I reflected on the dismal Consequences of the Rebellion, and the Foreign Proceedings, with some Measures, which had been taken, and created much Discontent.

Not long afterwards, I had an Answer to this Letter, by the same Gentleman, who delivered mine to him, representing his deep Concern, for the Occasion of our Misfortunes in *Britain*; that he had not been wanting, to give his best Advice, to the *Hanoverian* Ministers, but it seems likewise to no purpose; and that he had often desired, and begged Leave to come to *London*, but could not obtain it: so that he resolved when he had finished his History of the House of *Brunswick*, and *Lunenburgh*; to go to *Vienna*, and spend the rest of his Days, at the Emperor's Court.

No wonder, the *Hanoverians* opposed *Monsieur de Leibnitz*'s coming to *Great Britain*; for they knew, the generous, noble Views of that great Man, must have been always employed to cross their Designs, and private Interest, in meddling so much with *British* Affairs.

But in our Correspondence, he said, my Presence at *London*, or elsewhere in *Britain*, and my Endeavours to serve my King and Country, would be very necessary, and therefore was so importunate with me to return, that, I could not resist the pressing Arguments of a Person, for whom I had

had such a Value and Respect; and so I came back to *London*, the beginning of *March*, 1715. upon the end of the Rebellion, which was happily very near reduced by the Courage and Conduct of the Duke of *Argyll*.

I was in great Affliction for the Sufferings of so many of my Country-men, and then retired from Court, to enjoy a private Solitude in the County of *Surrey*, where I might at leisure lament the unhappy State of *Scotland*, and the miserable Circumstances of so many Families, both great and small: Resolving to reflect upon the bypast Part of my Life, and repent that ever I commenced Courtier.

I had not continued in this State above a Week till a Gentleman was sent by Baron *Bernstorf*, to desire me to come to Court; which I refused absolutely, saying, they had render'd me uncapable, or at least unwilling to serve them: for, since I had been denied the Happiness to have prevented the shedding of so much Blood, and the Ruin of so many Gentlemen and Families, I could not propose any Pleasure in serving the Government any more, and so resolved never to trouble myself with Court-Affairs, but to spend the rest of my Time in the most melancholy Retirement I could.

The Gentleman left me, and returned again with the same Message and Request, but receiving still the same Answer, he got some of my Friends to persuade me: And believing this Importunity proceeded from some fresh Advices he might have re-

received from *Monsieur de Leibnitz*, I was at last prevailed with to meet *Bernstorf*, who received me with a deal of seeming Respect and Affection, and said, he had found the Accounts I had formerly given him of the Rebellion in *Scotland*, were too true, and it would be much for the King's Interest, if I would renew my former Correspondence; promising, not only to reimburse my former Expences, but to defray all other Charges in time to come; besides a generous Recompence to my own Satisfaction. I begg'd to be excused, and gave such Reasons for it, as might have satisfied any other Man, particularly speaking of the late Treatment I had met with, which I thought was Caution enough to any body, never to trust to Court-Promises any more.

But he continued his Story, notwithstanding all I had said, and I was Fool enough still, to let him ask me, if I thought there were any new Apprehensions of Insurrections at Home, or Invasions from abroad. I answered, That there was no fear of any Invasions, if the People were made easy and satisfied at Home: And the only way I knew to remove their Fears, was, for those who had lately acquired so much Power, to use it with more Lenity, and gentle Behaviour than they had done; for it was not in the Nature of the *British* People to insult the Conquered; but rather, with all generous Humanity, to forget Injuries, as King *William* always did, by his Amnesty upon such calamitous Occasions, which never failed to answer his End: but the Reverse of such Lenity had been now advised; this the People

ple believe, proceeds from what they call the Barbarity of *Foreigners*.

But after many fair Promiſes to bring every Thing to bear, according to my Model, as he called it, at laſt I was too eaſily perſuaded to eſtabliſh a Foreign Correſpondence, whereby I might know what Deſigns there were Abroad, to favour any new Inſurrection at Home; and particularly to underſtand, what the Motions of the late King of *Sweden* meant, which filled the *Hanoverians* with diſmal Apprehenſions.

Accordingly I fixed ſeveral Correſpondents Abroad, and always ſent my Letters as they came, to the Baron. By the Demands therein, which were made upon me, he might eaſily ſee how expenſive it was, to carry on my Intelligence, which he promiſed to clear, every time I asked him, according to my Accompts; but at laſt he ſent me word to go to the Lord *Townſhend*, having fixed that Affair with his Lordſhip, to ſatisfy all my Demands, for he was obliged to wait upon the King to *Hanover*.

I went to his Lordſhip accordingly, and asked if Baron *Bernſtorf* had left any Inſtructions with him, about ſome Money which I had been out of Pocket; and which he promiſed to pay me for the King's Service; he anſwered, he had not, but doubted not, but the Baron would do it, as being the faireſt thing in the World, and the greateſt Injuſtice to neglect it.

Being

BEING thus Abused, and Disappointed by *Bernsdorf*, I resolved to follow his Majesty to *Hanover*, and so went to *Holland*, in *August*, 1716, where I stayed near three Months, to get Intelligence of Foreign Affairs, particularly of the King of *Sweden*'s Designs, which the *Hanoverians* had been Whispering about as a mighty Secret for some time, this made me suspect there was something else in the Wind.

WHEN I came to *Rotterdam*, which was then full of my poor unfortunate Countrymen, who had fled thither, upon the Account of the Rebellion; one *John Bigs*, of the Queen's Head Tavern, formerly a Serjeant of the *Cameronian* Regiment, came and asked if I would be willing to meet Mr. *Robinson* of *Strouan*, at his House privately, having something of Importance to Communicate; and knowing him to be a Man considerable amongst the *Highlanders*, and a Man of excellent good Sense, and truly every way a Compleat Gentleman, I readily complied, and so met him, with some more of his Friends. Mr. *Robinson* said, he knew my Principles were contrary to his; both my Predecessors and my Self, having been always in the opposite Interest; but he said, as a Man of Honour, he doubted not, I was concerned for the Misfortunes of so many of my Countrymen; and hearing I was in *Rotterdam* in the way to *Hanover*, he was desirous to see me, to ask, if I thought King *George* might be perswaded to give a general Indemnity for Life, for his Estate; he said, he was willing to pay an Equivalent, nay, rather more than any Body else could make of it; for no Stranger he said, can make so much of our Coun-

try Estates, as we can; and most of the Gentlemen, in my Circumstances, will agree to this Proposal, if it is Embraced: He said, he had not troubled me upon this Affair, but believed it K. GEORGE's Interest to take that Method as much as theirs; for King WILLIAM, he added, granted such an Indulgence, both for Life and Fortune, which produced very good Effects.

Now Sir, says he, If you can procure such Treatment for us, I hope you will do us the Justice to assure the Government, that they may expect a religious Observance on our Parts; but if they reject this, none will blame us to lay hold on any Opportunity to give all the Disturbance we can.

I answered, I was sorry the Insurrection in *Scotland* (which was the Occasion of their Sufferings) was permitted to go so far; for it was once in my Power to have prevented it: And I took so much Pains for that end, that I actually put the *Hanoverian* Ministers upon effectual and infallible Methods to have suppressed it, had they taken my Advice, which would have saved so much Blood and Treasure to the Nation; nevertheless, to make the best we could of a bad Bargain, I told him, they might believe I would be glad to embrace such a fair Overture, which, if agreed to, I was satisfied would tend so much to his Majesty's Interest, even if I had no regard to their present Calamities, which, notwithstanding, so affected me with real Sympathy and Compassion, that I resolved to leave nothing undone to get such a just Request granted them; and for that end would make

make a faithful Repreſentation of their deplorable Circumſtances to the King at *Hanover*, and the Miniſtry at *London*, with their Propoſal, which, I muſt own, I believed it ſo agreeable to the Methods King *William* had taken on the like Occaons, that I had no doubt of Succeſs.

WITH this Aſſurance I proceeded, being fond of an Opportunity, not only to ſerve ſo many good Families and Gentlemen in Diſtreſs, but even his Majeſty, and the whole Nation: Beſides, I had my own Jealouſie (how little ſoever I depended upon the *Hanoverian* Whiſpers) that the King of *Sweden* might reſent the Affair of *Bremen*, and *Verden* at that time, when there were ſo many Gentlemen to eſpouſe his Quarrel, who wanted not Addreſſes enough to influence him upon leſs Provocation.

WHEREUPON I writ to Baron *Bernsdorf*, deſiring him to lay the Propoſal before the King, as a Matter of the laſt Conſequence. Now the *Swediſh* Invaſion was threatned, to procure a general Amneſty to all the Rebels, who, I believed, would accept it; for the Gentleman, who had made this Propoſal, was a leading Man, deputed by the reſt, as I ſuppoſe, and to conclude upon whatever he found to be for the Good of the whole.

I uſed abundance of Arguments with him, that the *Swedes*, being Proteſtants, would be more acceptable to the *Scots*, than any Popiſh Power could pretend to be: That it would be impoſſible, in caſe they landed, to prevent the *Presbyterians* and *Camerenians* from joining them, if their *Manifeſto*

was but adapted to our Principles; that the *Scots* generally love the *Sweedes*, there being many of our Anceſtors, who ſignalized themſelves in the Service of the great *Guſtavus Adolphus*; whoſe beſt Officers, and a great Part of his Army, conſiſted of *Scotſman*; to whoſe Valour was owing ſo many Victories of his: Particularly, that Famous Battle of *Liepſick*; where the *Scots* were inſtrumental in driving out of the Field, and ſubduing the old Imperial Army; which had given Laws for ſo many Years to the *German* Nation.

I writ alſo to my Lord *Townſhend*, to the ſame Purpoſe under a Cover, to Mr. *Morriſon* of *Preſton-Grange*, whom I deſired to take a Copy of it before Delivery, and procure me an Anſwer, if poſſible: Which, from a true Affection to the King, and Compaſſion to theſe poor Gentlemen, he did do very honeſty, but all in vain; for my Lord was then declining at Court, being in a little Time after that, diſmiſſed from all his publick Employments, and conſequently it was not in his Power: but no Body could doubt I deſerved an Anſwer from Baron *Bernsdorf*, tho' I never could obtain one of him, relating to that Subject.

BUT one of thoſe unfortunate Gentlemen afterwards told me, it was in vain to expect any Reply from that Miniſter; and ſaid, if he had known it ſooner, he would have ſaved me the Trouble of Writing to him, and that I might depend upon it, any ſuch Requeſt, in Favours of the unfortunate *Scots* would meet with a very cold Reception by the *Hanoverian* Miniſtry; for he had

had good Reason to believe, that it was a received Maxim among them, *That the* King *could never be safe upon the Throne, while the* Scots Jacobites *had any Interest or Footing in* Scotland.

To convince me of this, he desired me to peruse a Pamphlet Published at that Juncture, endeavouring to perswade the Government, "they "had nothing to fear but from *Scotland*, and "could never expect to be absolutely secured, but "upon the Ruin of that whole Party. From all which he concluded, that the Court of *Hanover* would not pursue the gentle and merciful Measures the late King WILLIAM had taken on the like Occasion.

I arrived at *Hanover* in the Month of *November* 1716, on the very Day the late Famous Monsieur *De Leibnitz* died, which plunged me into so much Sorrow and Grief, that I cannot express it. I shall not pretend to give the Character of this incomparable Senator, for more able Pens have already made Encomiums upon this truly great Man, whose Meritorious Fame must continue while Learning or the World endures; and therefore, I shall add no more, than to declare, in Gratitude to his Memory, that he was so much concerned and affected with the Hardships I suffered, that without my Knowledeg he ordered a Debt of two hundred and thirty Pounds, which I had contracted in *Germany*, to be discharged out of his own Pocket.

I must confess, it afforded me Matter of strange Reflection, when I perceived the little Regard that

was paid to his Aſhes by the *Hanoverians*; for he was buried in a few Days after his Deceaſe, more like a Robber than, what he really was, the Ornament of his Country.

I was obliged to ſtay a while at *Hanover*, before his Majeſty and the Court returned from the *Gohre*, where they had been for ſome time a hunting, I prepared a *Memorial*; for *Bernsdorf* recounting all my Labours for the King's Service ſince he came from *Britain*; and particularly I convinced him, that there was no fear of an Invaſion from *Sweden*, nor was there any Preparations in any of the *Swediſh* Ports; and, that in all my Diſquiſition, by the beſt Intelligence, that Monarch was not able to give us the leaſt Diſturbance.

WHEN the Court returned, I went to Baron *Bernsdorf* with my *Memorial* who receiving me with abundance of Civility, I told him, he would be therein convinced of the Services I had performed ſince his Majeſty's Succeſſion, and that I would attend him very ſoon, to know his Pleaſure; he anſwered, *I ſhould be welcome as often as I pleaſed*, and promiſed to peruſe it.

BUT before I returned, I was ſurprized to hear a Gentleman ſay, that the *Memorial* I had preſented concerning the King of *Sweden*, had ſo fruſtrated all my Intentions, that I ſhould never receive a Farthing of my Charges, much leſs for the great Trouble and Pains I had taken, which I ſhould be convinced of by the Baron's Reception, next time I went to Viſit him.

WHERE-

WHEREUPON I went immediately, and sure enough was convinced; for I was by his Servants most insolently denied access, and was forced to stand at the Door till he came out, and so threw myself in his Way, and asked him, *If that was the Welcome he had promised? and if,* Sir, said I, *this be the Treatment I am to expect, it is but reasonable I should be, at least, reimbursed of my Expences; for I have served his Majesty very faithfully, which I shall make appear in proper Time and Place; therefore,* Sir, *I demand my Money, which, I believe, by your Means, hath been so long unjustly detained from me.*

HE said, *he would inform the* King, *and give me an* Answer *the next Day.*

NOTWITHSTANDING all this ill Usage, I was prevailed with to attend this great Man once more, expecting the Money I had so justly required; instead of which he left me, abruptly affecting a silent Disdain, which I really smiled at, reflecting upon his former obsequious Cringing, when he attended me with the Present of the *Medals* which his Majesty Honoured me withal, when I was there before.

I wish my Countrymen could have perceived what an Alteration the *Climate* and *Cash* of *Great-Britain* had made in him in so short a time.

NEXT, I waited on Baron *Gortz*, who was a Gentleman of Integrity and Honour, and told him how *Bernsdorf* had served me, which troubled him so much, that he tendered me his good Offi-

ces, to perſwade him to do me Juſtice, which, I told him would be to no purpoſe; but if he pleaſed to tell the King, that I had Occaſion for ſome of the Money I had disburſed in his Service, to carry me home, I would take it as a ſingular Favour, and as a Token of the ſincere Reſpect he always expreſſed for me; being fully ſatisfied, he left no Stone unturned to adjuſt Matters, and put every thing in a clear Light, for he was heartily aſhamed of *Bernsdorf*'s Uſage, nevertheleſs he could not obtain any other Anſwer; but that *all* Britiſh *Affairs were to be conſidered in* Britain: Tho' in a few Days, one of the Clerks of the *Finances* brought me a hundred *Dollars*, as a Preſent from the King, for which I returned my moſt hearty Thanks to his Majeſty. Soon after this, I went to a *Hamburg* Merchant, who readily conſented to take a Note of Hand for my Paſſage Home.

THE laſt mentioned Preſent, with the Two *Medals*, is all I have yet received for all my Services, both at Home and Abroad, tho' *Bernsdorf* told me, the *former* was only given me, as an Earneſt of his Majeſt's future Favours. Theſe Minute Particulars I ſhould not have mentioned, had not his Secretary told abundance of People here, that I had obtained ſeveral Sums from his Majeſty, out of his *Hanoverian* Treaſury.

I took my Leave of that Court, with a firm Reſolution, never to return to it again; and from thence, I went to the Court of *Wolfembuttle*, and to that of *Rodolf Ludowick*, Father to the preſent Empreſs: After ſome ſhort ſtay there, I went from thence

thence to *Hamburgh*, where I embarked for *England*, and arrived in *London*, 1717.

UPON my Arrival, Baron *Bernsdorf*'s Secretary, came to Acquaint me, that his Master had Received a Letter from a Gentlemen Abroad, demanding some Money, that was owing by me to him, upon Account of Correspondence, wherefore the Baron desired to know, whether, I had Employed that Person or not: I told him, I had Employed not only him, but several others; whom I had supplied with Money, so long as I could, and that the Baron might Pay them all, if he pleased, the same way he had Paid me; tho I still intended to be re-paid, what Sums I had laid out of my own Pocket, for the King's Service if I could. But notwithstanding my most earnest Sollicitations, the Baron continually put me off with frivolus Excuses, Letters from his Secretary, and fresh Promises, broke almost as fast as they were made.

THUS after six Months Attendance, the Gentleman I employed, was at last desired by the Baron, to apply to the British Ministry (for, that he was no ways concerned in this, or any of the British Affairs) upon this, I dropt any farther Sollicitation; being convinced, I had no just Demands upon the British Ministry; as having not employmed me. Thus I contented myself, with assuring the Baron by a Messenger, that he should find, as I had Reason, and Honour on my Side; I had also Courage to do myself Justice, since my due had been so ungenerously detained from me; but, it was often told, when last at *Hanover*,

Hanover, that the *Memorial* which I had presented about the *Swedish* Invasion, had been the Cause of all the Resentment against me; I confess it was some small Comfort to find that I suffered Innocently, having inserted nothing in that *Memorial*, but strict Truth, and which was justified in a little time afterwards, by the Accounts several of our Merchants, who had a considerable Trade in the *Baltick*, had received from their Correspondents in most, or all the Ports of *Sweden*, and the Adjacant Coasts, that there was no such Preparations in any of those Ports for such an Invasion on any Parts of the *British Dominions*; nor in Truth, was that unfortunate Prince in any Condition to attempt such an Enterprise, his Country then starving, and his chief Supportsr, the King of *France*, Dead.

I hope the Reader will excuse my enlarging upon this Subject, as being useful to set Affairs in a just Light, for the Service of my Country, which is all I intend thereby: And as a farther Illustration of this Matter, it will be very proper to trace the *Swedish* Attempt from its beginning, it being the Bugbear of that Time.

THE Czar of *Muscovy* and the Kings of *Denmark* and *Poland*, it is well known, formed a League against the King of *Sweden*, 1700, and in Pursuance thereof, they fell upon him with all their Forces at once. The *Czar* entring *Ingermerland*, set down before *Narva*, with an Army of an hundred thousand Men; the King of *Poland* at the same time, entring *Livonia*, besieged *Riga*, and the King of *Denmark*, attacked the *Ducal Holstein* in the midst of a profound Peace.

THIS

THIS so alarmed the Great and Glorious King WILLIAM, who had always at Heart, a just Sense of the Interest of *Great-Britain*, and the Ballance of Power, both in the North and elsewhere: That his Majesty sent a Fleet into the *Sound*, to Bombard *Copenhagen*, and to favour the landing of the *Swedish* Army near that City: Which being accordingly done, the *Danes* were forced to make Peace, for upon this, followed the Treaty of *Travandale*; whereby the *Dane* obliged himself not to molest the King of *Sweden* in any of his Dominions, either beyond, or on this side the *Baltick*, to which Treaty, *Great-Britain* became Guarantee, and King WILLIAM was obliged to Assist the *Swedes*, both by Sea and Land, with a certain Quota of Land Troops, and Men of War by Sea, as particularly specified in the said Treaty, in Case the *Dane* should at any time make a Rupture with the *Swede*, or Invade any of his Dominions.

ANNO 1709, The King of *Sweden* was defeated by the *Muscovites*, at the Battle of *Pultowa*, (his whole Army being, either killed or taken Prisoners, for he himself was forced to fly into *Turky* for Shelter) whereupon the *Dane* broke the Peace at *Travendale*, and attacked the *Swedish* Dominions, and took Possession of the Dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*.

The *Czar* of *Muscovy*, also pursued this Victory so closely, that he made himself Master of the *Swedish* Provinces of *Livonia*, *Esthonia* and *Ingermerland*, the most considerable and richest Countries in all the *Swedish* Dominions; after which

which he croſſed the *Baltick*, and conquered the beſt and far greater part of the Dukedom of *Finland*.

IF we likewiſe take a View of the Situation of of the *Swediſh* Affairs in *Germany*, at that time we ſhall find, not only the *Dane* Maſters of the Dutches of *Bremen* and *Verden*, but alſo puſhing forward towards *Swediſh Pomerania*, and the *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, at the Head of a great Army, 1712, after this above-mentioned Conqueſt, advancing to Aſſiſt the King of *Denmark*.

THE *Swedes*, notwithſtanding, they were thus reduced to the greateſt Extremities Landing an Army in *Meclenburgh*, under the Command of Count *Steinbocke*, who immediately advancing, Attacked and totally Defeated the *Daniſh* Army at at the Battle of *Gadrebuſch* Count *Steinbocke* purſued his Blow, and puſhed into *Daniſh Holſtein*. The *Czar* of *Muſcovy*, who was advancing within a Day or two's March of the *Daniſh* Army, when they were Defeated at *Gadrebuſch*, finding that the *Swediſh* Army was got into *Daniſh Holſtein*, and preſſing forward into *Jutland*, he followed them cloſe, and beſieged Count *Steinbocke* and his Army, after he had ſhut himſelf up within *Toningen*, which had been delivered up to him by the Order of the Duke Adminiſtrator of *Holſtein*. The *Swedes* being thus ſurrounded, and wanting all Neceſſaries, were obliged to ſurrender Priſoners of War, whereupon the *Danes* taking the Advantage of the Duke Adminiſtrator of *Holſtein*, his ſurrendring *Toningen* to the *Swedes*, ſeized upon the Duke of *Holſtein*'s whole Dominions, who was then under Age in *Sweden*.

THE

THE *Muscovite* Army, after Count *Steinbocke* and his Army were made Prisoners, entred *Pomerania*, besieged and took *Stetin*, the Capital of that Province, which important Place, was soon after delivered into the Hands of the King of *Prussia*, by an Agreement with the *Czar*.

KING *George*, since his Accession to the British Crown, by the Advices of his Foreign Councellors, purchased from the *Danes*, these Dutchees of *Bremen* and *Verden*, which they had forcibly taken from the *Swedes*, and in 1715, as Elector of *Hanover*, declares War against the King of *Sweden*, at the same time, the King of *Prussia*, joined by the *Danes* entred *Pomerania*, took Possession of that large and rich Province, and besieged the King of *Sweden*, in the town of *Stralsund*, who but a little while before, came Post from *Turky*, and arrived in that Town. The *Swedes* had prepared an Army, and Vessels to Tansport them from *Old Sweden* to relieve the King, and preserve their last footing in the Empire, but were prevented by the Appearance of the *Danish* Fleet, joined by a Squadron of British Men of War; whereupon, after a glorious and most desperate Defence, that unfortunate Monarch was forced to make his Escape in a small Vessel, and *Stralsund* was surrendred, Thus the *Swedes* had abandoned all their Provinces in *Gemany*, and had not the least footing left them on this side of the *Baltick*, being then shut up within the barren Rocks of old *Sweden*.

THIS

THIS is the true Account of the State of *Sweden* at that Time, whereby one may be eaſily convinced, that the *Swedes* were not in any Condition, to give us the leaſt Diſturbance in *Great-Britain*.

IT would be manifeſt *Injuſtice*, to charge the Britiſh Miniſtry with adviſing the Purchaſe of the Dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, who could not be guilty of any thing ſo directly contrary to the Faith of King WILLIAM, and the Britiſh Nation in general, to which they certainly had yet a greater Regard.

NEITHER ſhould the *Hanoverian* Miniſtry be blamed for this Advice; ſince their Duty equally obliges them to have a Regard for the Intereſt of their own Country; and to have as little Reſpect for the Credit and Intereſt of ours, as we ought to have for theirs: And as it is ſpecially provided in the Act of Settlement, that *Great-Britain* is not to be concerned in his Majeſty's Adminiſtration, as Elector of *Hanover*, ſo it may reaſonably be thought, that it would be very imprudent in them, to endeavour to impoſe Falſehoods upon the Britiſh Nation, eſpecially when they are calculated only for their Political Intereſts.

I ſhall dwell no longer on this Subject, than to obſerve, that a little after this new Acquiſition to the Electorate of *Hanover*, there was a Squadron of *Engliſh* Men of War fitted out, and ſent to the *Baltick*, to ſtraiten the *Swedes*; and a Proclamation iſſued out, prohibiting our Trade with them. I ſhall not preſume to alledge, that the Foreign

Foreign Ministers influenced these Motions, only there happened an Accident at that Time, which would Countenance such a Supposition, *Viz.* Sometime before the prohibition of Trade with the *Swedes* was declared, or any of our *English* Merchants knew any thing of it; Advices came from Merchants Abroad at *Amsterdam*, &c. to buy up all the *Swedish* Iron they could find; for such a Day, the aforesaid Proclamation would be out, which answered exactly to the Foreign Advice; and afterwards, the Price of Iron was raised almost double, to what it was before.

IT was thought strange at that Time, and gave some uneasiness, that Foreigners should reap the Benefit of this, which our British Merchants knew nothing of, till they had bought up all our Iron, and the Proclamation was out: Yet the said Foreign Merchants knew every Step relating to this Affair; and had sufficient Time to reap the Advantages arising from it.

I shall conclude with observing only, that there was a Squadron sent to the *Baltick*, for two or three Summers, till the Death of the King of *Sweden*, and their present *Swedish* Majesties confirming the Acquisition of the Dutchies of *Bremen* and *Verden*, to the Electorate of *Hanover*, and absolutely renouncing any Right or Title thereto, after which, that Squadron was ordered to act in Favour of *Sweden*, and defend the same against the Attempts of the *Czar* of *Muscovy*.

HAVING now got thro' the *Swedish* Affairs, I shall, in as short a Compass as possible, endeavour

to

to satisfie my Countrymen, how prejudicial it will be to the Welfare, and Happiness of *Great Britain*, if the Subjects of any Foreign State should have the least Concern in the British Affairs.

EVERY one knows, that the true Interest of *Great-Britain*, is to preserve the Liberty, and Freedom of Parliaments; Advance Trade, Encourage our Foreign Plantations, and Manufactures at Home; and to keep the Ballance of *Europe* even, without seeking to add one Foot of Ground to our *European* Dominions.

BUT the Interest of those Foreign States, where there are no Parliaments, no Trade, nor Priviledges of Subjects, is to enlarge their Dominions, which they cannot be blamed for, as being so necessary to preserve them from the Insults of their Neighbours.

IT is likewise their Business to cultivate a Friendship with the Emperor, who considering the great Power he hath lately obtained, is able when he pleases, to turn the Ballance among the contending Princes, and States of the Empire; for having his Friendship it would be impossible to disturb any *German* Prince in his Possessions, whether just, or unjust, but without it, none of them would be very easy, unless supported by some considerable Foreign Power: And this is the Reason why those who are so Zealous for their own or their Countries Interest; are always so ready to come into the Emperor's Measures, and Assist him in his Wars, which it is well known, the House of *Austria* are seldom free from.

IT

IT is possible this View of *Great-Britain*'s Interest may, by the Ignorant, be misconstrued as a Mark of Dissatisfaction with his Majesty's Conduct; but none that know me, can surely be so base, as to charge me with any such unjust imputation; For it is very plain, that the Parliament, which settled the Succession, had the very same Thoughts in this particular that I have, by the Provisions they made in that glorious Act, against all possibility of Foreigners interfering with our Affairs, who were not only therein declared uncapable to Enjoy any manner of Publick Office, or to have any part of our Legislature or Administraton in their Hands; nor that *Great-Britain* should be obliged to have any Regard to his Majesty's Wars, or Disputes of any sort, as Elector of *Hanover*.

HAVING thus, from my Zeal to his Majesty's true Interest and Honour, as King of *Great-Britain*, and Affection to his Interest, delivered my Thoughts impartially on this Subject; I hope I need not repeat my Assurances, that I have not any other View, but to serve my King and Country, having advanced nothing, but what was the received Opinions of our wise Predecessors.

IT is well known, and worthy of our Observation, that the Whigs entertained, and not without Reason, very great Fears of the danger of *Great-Britain* from Foreign Councils, and that the whole Nation in a former Reign was greatly surprized, when only one Foreign Lady, *viz.* The Dutchess of *Portsmouth* was created an *English* Peeress, thereby apprehending, she possibly might

influence that Prince to favour foreign Intereſts. And if one Lady, in thoſe Days, was capable to raiſe ſuch Jealouſies in the Minds of *Britiſh* Subjects; what would a *Shaftesbury*, or the other Politicians of thoſe Times ſay, if they now exiſted! *Hinc ille Lacrymæ!* This Parallel is a Purſuit too dangerous for the Pen of any living Hiſtorian, ſo that in Concert with the Painter, here, I muſt draw a Veil.

IT is true, The Dutcheſs of *Portſmouth* was not removed from King CHARLES II. the Nation bearing with his Favour to a ſingle Lady in the Honour he had conferred upon her, tho' it was not without much grumbling. But it is as true in the very preceding Reign, the King found it neceſſary to ſend moſt part of the Foreigners, who arrived with his Queen back again from whence they came. And, we all remember, that the late Glorious King WILLIAM, of immortal Memory, was obliged to part with his *Dutch* Guards, ſore againſt his Will; ſo ſtrong was the Jealouſie and Apprehenſion even againſt them, that he, to whom we owed our All, could not have the Liberty to keep them about him, though he earneſtly intreated the Parliament, and told them, his Guards were always ready to obey whatever was reſolved; but he would take it as a ſingular Favour, if they would let them continue with him, having been about him ſo long, even from his Infancy: But yet this ſmall Requeſt was denied to that Illuſtrious Monarch.

I must here intreat the Reader's Patience to observe, that the *English*, who ever since the Accession of *James* VI. of *Scotland* to their Crown, apprehended his being a *Scotchman*, might divert him and his Successors from their Interest, and incline them to that of their own Native Country: Whereupon, from that Day, the *English* industriously suppressed *Scotland*, and crushed every thing that ever was proposed and set a Foot for the Benefit and Improvement of that Kingdom; and have pursued that Maxim, with such Application, Labour and Industry, that it can be easily made appear, whatever was the Value of *Scotland* then, it is much less now.

AND we may also observe, that since the fatal Time, which was in the Year 1604, none of our Kings ever returned, but King *James* VI. only once for a Visit, and that a very expensive one: The *Scots* prodigally extended their Generosity to the Nobility and Others, who attended their King thither, and King CHARLES I. only once; and King CHARLES II. in the Time of the Usurpation was banished *England*, so that both he, and his Army were maintained at *Scotland*'s Charge.

FROM these Facts, if we compare *Scotland* with any foreign State, it may be easily distinguished, whether *England* had more to fear, from the separate Interest, and distinct Views of *Scotland*, than *Great-Britain* hath now, from the separate Interest of other Confederate Courts.

To illuſtrate the Compariſon, I ſhall give ſuch an Account of the *Scotiſh* Nation, as may enable the Reader to judge accordingly.

SCOTLAND is ſurrounded by the Sea on all Sides, except on the *South*, where it joins *England*; which ſince King *James* VI, aſcended the *Engliſh* Throne, made it impoſſible for them to extend their Dominions: And conſequently, *England* had no Reaſon to be apprehenſive of being drawn into a War, with any Neighbouring Prince upon their Account.

SCOTLAND had no Dependance upon the Emperor, or any Neutral Power, therefore *England* could not be engaged by them, in any Foreign Quarrel for their Sakes.

THE Seat of the Government, being *England*, the *Scots* generally ſpeaking, reſorted thither, by which Means the whole Subſtance, and Money of *Scotland*, hath always centred, and circulated in *England* ſince that Time, and yet, all theſe Advantages the *Engliſh* have had over us, and the Loſſes and Damages we ſuſtained from them, were not ſufficient to diſſwade them from their unreaſonable Jealouſies.

BEFORE that fatal Year, 1604, the *Scots* had the Seat of Government in their own Country, which they had the incontroulable Freedom and Liberty to improve as they pleaſed, by Trade, and ſetling Foreign Colonies and Plantations, as *England* and other Nations do; they had always their ancient Allies, the *French* at Hand, and others who

who were jealous of the *English*'s Greatneſs, to Aſſiſt them in all their Undertakings, which would have increaſed *Scotland* proportionably with *England*; no Country being more capable of Improvement, or better ſituated for Trade, particularly to the *Indies*, than *Scotland* is.

BEFORE that time too, the *Scots* had vaſt Priviledges and Immunities in *France*, even greater and more than any Native Subject of that Nation was even capable of.

A *Scots* Man was Enfranchiſed of any Town, City, or Corporation, as much as if he had ſerved his Apprentiſhip there; *Scotſmen* have poſſeſſed the greateſt Poſts, both of Honour and Profit in the Kingdom; a *Scotſman* was Great Conſtable, and *Scotſmen* have been Marſhals of *France*, the beſt of their regular Troops conſiſted of *Scots* Battalions, who had always the Poſt of Honour, both in Camp and Garriſon, and guarded the King's Perſon; a *Scotſman* always kept the Key of the King's Bed-Chamber, *&c.*

ALL which Priviledges are loſt, ever ſince the fatal Year that King *James* became King of *Great-Britain*, only ſome particular *Scotſmen*, by their great Merit, have, even ſince that time, ſhined not only at the *French* Court, but at the Helm; *Monſieur Colbert*, *a Scotſman*, Prime Miniſter of State, raiſed their Finances from poor mean Circumſtances, to the greateſt Height and Condition they were during the late Reign. So it may be ſaid, the Wonder of *France*, and perhaps, of all *Europe*, were *Scotſmen*, *viz.* Him I have juſt now

mentioned, and the famous *Dun-Scotus*, who firſt brought Learning to any Luſtre in *France*.

To come cloſer to the Point, I believe there cannot be the leaſt Reaſon aſſigned, why any Foreigner ſhould be better treated than the *Scots* have been; for to proceed with my Compariſon, take it which way you pleaſe, or every way, I hope it is no diſcredit to them, if I ſay the Ballance will incline to the *Scots*-ſide, both from what I have already ſaid, and can ſtill be advanced to the Credit of that Nation, who appeared very early in the Rolls of Honour, valiantly reſiſting the *Roman Eagle*, the Veteran Legions; who, after they had conquered moſt of the known World, were ſtopt in their victorious Progreſs, by the brave ancient *Scots*, with a *ne plus ultra*; they are likewiſe found in Hiſtory victoriouſly oppoſing the ancient *Britons*, *Saxons*, *Danes*, *Normans*, *Engliſh*, &c. And by their Valour, often ſaving *France*, which muſt otherwiſe have fallen a Prey to its Enemies; they are alſo to be found under *Guſtavus Adolphus*, recovering the *German* Liberty from the Thraldom of the Houſe of *Auſtria*, and penetrating to the Heart of the Empire, particularly at the famous Battle of *Leipſick*, gaining immortal Honour with Sword in Hand, driving the old Imperial Army, under Count *Tilly*, out of the Field, after the *Germans*, who had joined *Guſtavus Adolphus*, had run away, and left the *Scots* and *Swedes* to Diſpute the Liberties of *Germany* with the *Imperial* Army.

IN this War it was that the *Scots* did shew they could gain Victories, and wear Laurels upon the Banks of the *Danube*, long before the Battles of *Hockstet* and *Bleinheim*; for then was to be seen the barve *Scots* Generals, *Hepeburn*, *Lesley*, *Ruthwen*, *Hamilton*, *King*, *Lumsaen*, *Stewart*, the two *Monroes* upon the Head of their *Scots* Corps, carrying all before them, and aggrandizing the great *Gustavus*; no Rivers were capable of putting a stop to the Progress of their Arms, nor strong Towns to hold out against them.

WE shall also find them entering *England*, with an Army to recover the Liberty and Freedom of Parliament, giving Life, and animating the *English*, who, till that time, were in a manner asleep, groaning under their Grievances in the Reign of King CHARLES the I. when they beat the Lord *Conway* and the King's Army at *Newburn*, and took *New-Castle upon Tine*.

After all this, I hope it can be no Offence to say, that if it had not been for the *Scots*, *England* might have lost their Liberties at that time, and the Liberties of *Germany* had also been swallowed up by the House of *Austria*, if the *Scots* had not distinguished themselves in that long *Swedish* War, which ended in the glorious Peace of *Munster*; whereby the Power of the House of *Austria* and the Popish Interest were much retrenched, the Liberties of *Germany* and the Protestant Interest perfectly secured, and its Power increased by being made Masters of many Territories, and Popish Bishopricks, who were thereupon secularized and given to them; I may be bold to add, that

if it had not been for the Valour of the *Scots*, there would not have been a Free Proteſtant Prince in *Germany*, even at this Day.

IT is true, I confeſs, that King *James* the firſt of *Great-Britain*, did too profuſely confer his Favours upon ſome of the *Scots*, who did not weldeſerve them, particularly upon *Robert Ker*, whom he created Earl of *Somerſet*, but it is well known, the *Engliſh* took this Ill, even altho there was no ſtanding Law or Proviſion made by them to the contrary.

BUT whatever were the Motives to induce the *Engliſh* to have ſo ſtrict an Eye upon *Scotland* formerly, there is not the leaſt for their ſo doing now, ſince after the Union of the two Nations, all cauſe of Jealouſie is intirely removed; and it is farther to be hoped and wiſhed, they would conſider, that *Scotland* is as yet but in its Infancy, as to Trade and Improvements, and therefore, not in a Condition to bear equal Burdens with a People who are arrived to ſo great Riches, Trade, and Improvements as the *Engliſh* are, who could not have ſubſiſted, if they had, when in *Scotland*'s preſent Condition, been charged with the fourth part of the Taxes, which is now eaſie to them, for to lay the ſame Burthen and Weight on the Back of an Infant, altho it might be eaſie to one of mature Years, yet it would cruſh the former to Pieces; and no doubt, but the Wiſdom of the now United-Kingdoms, will have a due Regard to it.

IF

IF any body thinks I have been too hard upon the *English*, or have spoken with any manner of Spleen or Disrespect of them; I declare solemnly they do me a gross Injury: For, tho' our Country hath suffered greatly from them, I shall never blame them so much for it, as our selves, on account of the Union. I know very well what a brave People they have been, and how they have distinguished themselves Abroad, especially in *France*. How they have had great Men who have shined, both in Court and Camp, and still have some, and therefore ought to be respected by all Nations, as truly they have heretofore been, and still deserve.

I would only have them call to Mind how their glorious Predecessors, set even their Lives and Fortunes at Naught, for the Interest and Honour of their King and Country.

I come now to touch upon a very melancholy Subject, which I will do briefly, with all possible Candour and Tenderness; for to enlarge upon it, and give a full detail of Facts, would be too dangerous for me, and give Offence, which, by all Means I endeavour to avoid.

THE *South-Sea* Scheme, and the fallacy and fatal Consequence thereof, are too fresh in Memory to be forgot by any *British* Subject; that there was a pernicious and insnaring Design, to destroy and impoverish the unthinking Part of this Nation, is too plain, it having appeared so to the Parliament.

IT

IT is certain, that there was a Secret and wicked Design in the Contrivance thereof; and it is as certain, that there was a Screen drawn before some gross Offenders; for none were exposed and punished but the Directors and Servants of the *South-Sea* Company, tho' most thinking People believed they were but Tools to others, who were never called in Question.

I shall not aver, that any of the *Hanoverians* were in this Contrivance, tho' many People at that time strongly suspected it, giving for their Reasons, that most of those People bought up Stocks very early when it was low, and had the good Fortune to sell out when it was eight Hundred *per Cent.* few or none of them were concerned in the Stock when it fell. But whether this proceeded from any foreknowledge of what was to come, or from a more extensive Capacity than the *English* were possessed of, is not in this Place proper for me to determine.

MUCH about the same time, there was a great number of foreign Lotteries set up, particularly one at *Harborough*, in the Country of *Hanover*; which seemed to receive too much Countenance here, and considerable Sums were drawn out of *English* Cash to carry it on: Which at that time afforded Matter of strange Reflections, that the then *British* Ministry did not exert themselves with more Vigour, to prevent the Ruin of this Kingdom; for a By-stander, who did not know the reason of their Insolence, might apprehend they

they were asleep; or had their Attentions drawn to some other Object which was thought strange, when the whole Kingdom was in Tears. Widows, Orphans, and many others lamenting the Loss of their Fortunes, the well-affected dreaded also other fatal Consequences; such as alienating Peoples Affection from the Government, and the encouraging our Enemies Abroad to assist the Pretender to make an Invasion upon us, which they had attempted some time before, and had certainly landed, if GOD in his infinite Mercy had not frustrated their Design, by dispersing their Fleet in a Storm. This was the unhappy State of *Great-Britain*, in the Year 1720, every Thing having a black and dismal Aspect; but when the Kingdom was at the lowest Ebb, and in a manner left without any Hope of Relief; the King was pleased, in his tender Compassion to his *British* Subjects, to recall the Right Honourable the Lord *Townshend* to be Principal Secretary of State, and Mr. *Walpole* to the Head of the Treasury, towards the latter end of this Year; and upon the Death of the Earl of *Sunderland*, which happened some time after, Mr. *Walpole* was placed at the Helm of the *British* Affairs.

So soon as this truly great Minister had it in his Power to serve his Country, he immediately, with the most prudent Conduct, invincible Courage, and heroic *British* Spirit, applied himself to Remedy, and put a stop to the base Incroachments I have mentioned; which in all Appearance, would otherwise have soon overflowed and destroyed, as they had already lessened and weakened

ened us; in the Opinion of our Neighbouring Kingdoms and States.

THE firſt Step he made in order to accompliſh this Great and Glorious Work, was to curb and keep within Bounds, the Inſolence of Foreigners; which in a ſhort time, thro' the Influence of his wholeſom Counſels to the King his Maſter, he affected with a publick Spirit, and generous Reſolution in ſuch a manner, as there has been no need ſince, to apply to Foreigners of either Sex, for any Favour at Court, nor any farther Occaſion for their Tools and Brokers; which for ſome time has been a very beneficial Trade to thoſe mean Spirits that would ſtop to it; then, and not till then, began the *Britiſh* Affairs to take quite a different Aſpect from what they had ſo lately before; then began the Intereſt of *Great-Britain* to be minded in the Cabinet, its former Splendor to re-appear, and its Power to be dreaded Abroad.

I here ſolemnly proteſt, I do not mention this, with any Intention of Flattery; of which I think myſelf uncapable, but from the true Principles of Juſtice, and an unfeigned Senſe of Duty; that every *Britiſh* Subject, who is not byaſſed by Prejudice, ought to pay to faithful Miniſters, who deſerve it ſo well, from their King and Country.

FROM their King, becauſe of debarring Foreigners from intermedling in our Affairs; the Affections of many thouſands of thinking People, who before

before ſtood amazed and alarmed, are now reconciled to him.

THIS is certainly the greateſt piece of Service, that a Miniſter can perform to his Soveraign; for by the removing Jealouſies and Fears (the two Parents of Diſaffection) in a Subject to his Prince, nothing can hurt his preſent Majeſty, who Reigns in the Hearts of his People, He will always be eaſy, when the Adminiſtration continues in the Hands of the Authors of their Deliverance; and will alſo recover their Courage, and ſet about the juſt Means of enlarging their Trade, and the Improvements made thereon; when the tenderneſs of a Paternal Care proceeds from the Throne: Influenced and encouraged, by the Wiſdom and prudent Conduct of wiſe Patriots.

THE next Step we find taken by this Illuſtrious Miniſter, was to put a Stop to foreign Lotteries, and particularly to ſuppreſs that of *Harborough*, which was narrowly enquired into, by the preſent Parliament, and to the immortal Honour of his Majeſty, and both Houſes was ſuppreſſed. And the Lord *Barrington*, the great Promoter of that Scheme, calculated to carry away our Money, and upon the Spoil of this Kingdom to enrich our Spoilers, expelled the *Houſe of Commons*. Here was a Publick Check to foreign Inſults, and inſatiable Avarice, and that very much to the Honour of *Great-Britain*; thereby preventing the fatal Conſequences of this Scheme, and the Ignominy and Reproach that muſt have attended it, had it been executed; I mention this Affair but briefly.

briefly, becauſe the Proceedings of Parliament thereon, are on Record.

IT is with an inward Pleaſure I repeat one Paſſage I have obſerved lately, very much to the Honour of the preſent Adminiſtration.

THAT when his Majeſty as Guarantee of the Treaty of *Oliva*, in Favour of the *Proteſtants* of *Poland* and *Lithuania*, did generouſly, and like the true Defender of the Faith, in Conjunction with the King of *Pruſſia* (that ſtrenuous Aſſertor of the Cauſe of diſtreſſed *Proteſtants* every where) and other Powers interpoſe in Favour of the *Proteſtants* in *Poland*; and engaged his own Electorate in the Quarrel, in the Treaty of *Hanover*; that generous *Engliſh* Spirit, that conducted our Affairs, foreſeeing that the Electorate of *Hanover* might thereby be expoſed to the reſentment of the *Emperor*, and the fatal Conſequences that might thereby have attended that Country, did with a Noble and Generous Soul, forgetting, and overlooking the Injury *Great-Britain* had received from the Subjects of that State, in the Addreſſes of Parliament to the King, declared they would Protect and Defend his *German* Dominions from the Inſults of any *Potentate* that ſhould Attack them, upon the Account of this Treaty, ſhewing thereby to the World, that they would Protect *Hanover*, when engaged in a Quarrel for the Defence of the *Proteſtant* Intereſt, or the Liberties of *Europe*, and to the *Hanoverians* that they wanted Britiſh Aſſiſtance, to which they muſt have recourſe, in time of Neceſſity; and be obliged to *Great-Britain* for it; as tho *Great-Britain*, I mean

mean its Governors had made use of one Expression of *Ajax* to *Ulysses*, before the *Grecian* Generals, who was Competitor for the Armour of *Achilles* (*Sub Clypeo late & mecum contende Sub illo.*)

To these good Purposes succeeded that Noble Stand made by the British Parliament, in Impeaching the Earl of *Macclesfield*, whose unparalleled Avarice, Pride, and Notorious Corruption, in the Discharge of his high Post, are justly recorded, by the unanimous Vote of his *Peers*, as most Ignominious.

FOR, as that worthy Manager Sir *George Oxenden* hath observed upon the Tryal, the Commons could not sit still, and see this great Offender Triumph in the Luxury of unpunished Crimes, without using their best, and most effectual Endeavours to bring him to Punishment, and to make him an Example of the Justice of the present Age, a Warning and a Terror to Times to come.

I shall add no more, but that the Great Seals were taken from him, and committed into the Hands of Commissioners, and some time after, were deservedly given to Sir *Peter King*, the most unexceptionable Man of his Profession: (Eminent for his Knowledge in the Laws, his great Capacity, Probity and Justice) to the universal Joy of his Country; whereby the Fears of Orphans being defrauded, or the Subject's not finding impartial Justice, are intirely now removed.

I must also, in Praise of the great and extended Views of the present Illustrious Ministry, for the Happiness

Happineſs of *Great-Britain*, Obſerve another juſt Promotion, of the Lord *Trevor*'s being made Lord *Privy-Seal*: This is a plain Demonſtration they deſign to bury the odious Names of *Whig* and *Tory*, which has for many Years been ſo prejudicial to *Great-Britain* and its true Intereſt: And that thereby it is deſigned to unite all *Britons* among themſelves, by employing Men of exemplary Merit, without Diſtinction of Party-Names.

I humbly conceive this will prove of the greateſt Conſequence, and will, in a little time, make Us a happy and flouriſhing Nation; for this being accompliſhed, there will remain no other Names of Diſtinction, but only thoſe that are Friends to our preſent Happy Eſtabliſhment, and the baſe Adherents to the *Pretender*, which laſt will make but a very ſmall Figure, in Reſpect of the former, then ſhall *Great-Britain* be terrible Abroad, and happy at Home.

I remember when I was at the Court of *Hanover*, in the Year 1714, I did my outmoſt to inſtill the ſame Principle into the *Hanoverian*-Miniſtry, as I have all along avowed in theſe *Memoirs*; but was ſurpriſed to find Baron *Bernſdorf*, and moſt of that Miniſtry, very averſe to Entertain any ſuch Notion. I did not at that time diſcover their Reaſons for it; but afterwards I believed that they were then afraid, that in this Caſe there would be but very little Occaſion for them in *Britain*; whereas, otherwiſe they might at leaſt expect ſome Compliments from our *Britiſh* Quality, which would no way be diſpleaſing to them.

Indeed

Indeed Baron *Gortz* was of different Sentiments, as being truly a Man of Honour, a sincere Lover of the *British* Nation, and a hearty Well-wisher to its Happiness: The doing this piece of Justice to him, is all the Return I can make for his Affection to my Country, and the good Offices he was willing to do myself.

I mention these Facts, and the Importance of such wise and prudent Steps taken by his Majesty, and the worthy Patriots now at the Helm of our Affairs, only to raise up a due Thankfulness to our most Gracious Soveraign, and a just Gratitude to our Illustrious Ministers who have given such remarkable Proofs of their Wisdom and Publick Spirit, in advising and bringing about such good and healing Measures, which gives so clear a Discovery of their Intentions to make *Great-Britain* happy, which I hope is now in a fair way to be made so by their Means, if not prevented by our own Folly, by going into Measures to create factious Parties, to retard the good and glorious intentions of these our Deliverers.

A Word or two to *Great-Britain*, and I have done; I humbly conceive the true way to make one sensible of a Deliverance from Danger, and create a due Thankfulness to the Authors of it, is to shew the greatness of the Danger they have by their Means escaped.

I believe I might have been capable to open a Scene, that would have answered that End in every respect, but I desire to be excused from any part that would have given Offence, which I have

carefully avoided: But every judicious Perſon, that has any Memory, is capable of making ſuch Obſervations, as well, if not better than I am: And, I doubt not, but all ſuch, not prejudiced by Self-Intereſt and Party Views, will truly believe, that the Compliment which was payed by the *Engliſh* Parliament to the Duke of *Marlborough*, of his being the Retriever of the *Engliſh* Glory, is now with more Juſtice, and a much better Grace, applicable to Sir *Robert Walpole*.

To give my Reaſon for being of this Opinion, I conceive it will be proper, in this Place, truly and impartially, to relate the State of Affairs at the time when the Duke of *Marlborough* was placed by Queen ANNE, at the Head of the Army, and the Condition we were in, when Sir *Robert Walpole* was called to the principal Share of the Adminiſtration of our Civil Affairs, to begin with that of the former.

WE are to obſerve, That the Great and Glorious King WILLIAM had reſcued us from the Fears of Popery and Slavery, reduced *Ireland*, formed and cemented a Confederacy, compoſed of Princes of different Religions and Intereſts, and taught us to Fight in ſuch a manner, that before the end of that firſt War, he turned the Chaſe upon the *French*, and took the ſtrong Town and Citadel of *Namur* in the ſight of their Army. He beat and ruined the *French* Fleet at that famous Sea Engagement nigh *La Hogue*, in ſuch a manner, as they never after that were in a Condition to Inſult us in the Channel: He formed afterwards the laſt Confederacy in 1701, which none elſe but himſelf

himself could have done; and finally, as his last Will and Testament, he brought about and finished his present Majesty's Succession to the *English* Crown; he had a noble Army composed of different Nations, a little before his Death, who were ready the very next Campaign to receive the Duke of *Marlborough* at their Head, and look the *French* Army in the Face; and after this, the Duke never wanted brave Troops nor Money at Command. This was the State of our Affairs, when the Duke first appeared in the Field, as General against the *French*.

Now, to give a true State of the *British* Affairs, when Sir *Robert Walpole* was placed at the Helm, which cannot properly be said to be, till after the Death of the Earl of *Sunderland*. I must confess, this would be too dangerous a Subject for the Pen of any private Gentleman, who has nothing but Truth, and no Court-Interest, to support him against the Resentments he would thereby draw upon himself, and therefore I must leave the Reader to his own serious Review of the sad Circumstances we were in, before the close of the Year 1720, who, if just in this, I do not doubt, but he will be of my Opinion, especially if the wise Measures that have lately been taken, are impartially considered.

HAVING finished what I have to say upon the foregoing Subjects, if I be called to an Account for it, I can, with abundance of Assurance affirm, That I am ready, with Pleasure, to undergo and submit to the Will of God, and whatever my Country shall determine, either for or against me.

I confeſs, the Publick would be at no Loſs if I were dead, and my Memory buried in Oblivion; for I have ſeen too much of the Villiany and Vanity of this World to be longer in love with it, and own myſelf perfectly weary of it. And tho' with St. *Paul* I cannot *wiſh myſelf accurſed*, yet I think I have Courage enough to offer up myſelf a Sacrifice for the Welfare of my Country.

IF I have given Offence in theſe *Memoirs* to any of my own Countrymen, I ſhall be ſorry for it, having endeavoured their Service, and not to diſguſt any of them by what I have written.

AN
Account of the EMPEROR'S
East-India Company,
Of its Foundation and Progress.

WHEN I was at *Vienna*, *Anno* 1714, negociating some other Affairs, which are mentioned in the foregoing History; Monsieur *Leibnitz* told me, That the Emperor was so much pleased with the Zeal and Affection of my Friends for his Interest, that there was nothing we could reasonably demand of his Imperial Majesty, but what would be readily granted, he added, that it would be of the last Consequence to the *Hanover* Succession, to keep the Emperor firm to our Interest, and to neglect nothing to keep him in the good Humour he was then in.

THE Emperor likewise concerted with Monsieur *Leibnitz* at the same time, upon the bad State of his Finances, and inclined to borrow Money of his *British* Friends, upon a Mortgage of some of his Dominions, at an Interest of 8 *per Cent* to redeem another Mortgage the *Dutch* had upon the *Quicksilver Mines* of *Hungary* at an extravagant high Interest; which, he said, my Friends need not doubt punctual Payment of both Interest and Capital, within the time to be stipulated as

faithfully as had been formerly done in *Silesia* Mortgage.

MONSIEUR *Leibnitz* also told me, that the Emperor's Cabinet Secretary was to speak with me, for tho' he knew I had no Instructions for any such Matters as borrowing or lending of Money, yet it was necessary for the Service of the *Hanover* Succession, that I should endeavour to oblige his Imperial Majesty, and give him all the Encouragement I could, and wished me to manage the Affair when the Secretary came, so as the Emperor should be pleased with it, without bringing my self under such Engagements as I could not perform notwithstanding.

THAT very Evening a Letter came to my Hands, from a very worthy eminent Merchant in *London*, who was deeply embarked to assist his Imperial Majesty to carry on the War, and attack the *Spaniards* in the *West-Indies*; informing me, that the Hopes of the well-affected in *Great-Britain*, were very low and small from the News they had just received of the Treaty of *Baden*'s being finished, that both he, and many of his Friends, feared they would be forced soon to fly their Country, which they inclined to do, rather than submit to the Pretender; and therefore desired me to propose to the Emperor to establish an *East-India* Company in his Dominions, which, upon following such Privileges and Immunities as they should demand, they would not only Transport themselves and settle there, but carry on a very beneficial Trade to their mutual Interest and Advantage.

THIS

THIS Letter was enough to prepare me for a Meeting with the Secretary, who accordingly came the next Day, and told me of the Emperor's Intentions.

I answered, That since I left *Britain*, I had employed my Thoughts chiefly upon such Things, as I believed tended to serve his Imperial Majesty, and was surprized to hear, that such fine large Countries as the Emperor possessed, yielded such small Revenues, which must proceed either from the bad Management of those who had the Government of his Finances, or from want of Trade; if from the first, it was none of my Business, nor was I come there to accuse any of his Servants; but if it was from any other Cause, I supposed myself at Liberty to speak my Thoughts, and so I told him, that if his Imperial Majesty designed to borrow Money at a moderate Interest, he would do well to think of proposing other Security, than that of Mortgage upon Land; which Merchants, and monied People, were no way fond of.

I proposed to him the Example of *Great Britain*, who had Credit enough all the World over to borrow what Sums they pleased, upon Funds, arising from Trade; for tho' they were at that Time above 50000000 *l.* Sterling in Debt, yet they had never Mortgaged any of their Countries or Land-Tax; the Merchants being rather inclined to lend their Money upon such Funds, than Land Security. That it was nothing but the Trade of *Great-Britain*, and the Improvements thereupon, which made that Nation so considerable, and its Credit in the World so very good;

that one single Vote in the House of Commons, had made all the Forces of the Empire March, and alarmed all our Enemies and Neigbours round about us; and that it was our Trade alone had made us Masters of the Sea.

ALL which is evident from the Comparison of the present Power and Riches of *Great-Britain*, with what it was in the Days K. of *Henry* VIII. when we had no Colonies nor Trade; that *Great-Britain* is now ten times the Value of what it was then.

WHEREUPON I recommended to him, to set up an *East-India* Company in *Flanders*; that the Revenues and Customs arising therefrom, and the inseparable Concomitants of it, might be Fund of Credit to raise Money upon; which would be a better Security to the Lender to advance it than Land, or any other Security whatsoever. That no Country in the World was better situated for it than *Flanders*: The first Trade that ever was commenced to the *Indies*, being at *Antwerp*, which might have continued to this Day, had not *Philip* II. of *Spain*, by the Inquisition, and other Oppressions forced it, with its Merchants, to fix at *Amsterdam*.

I proposed that the Emperor should grant a Charter to my Constituents, with the usual Privileges; upon paying a Duty not exceeding 6 *per Cent.* which would make it the most considerable Company in *Europe*; and would afford him 100000 Florins upon demand, as the British *East-*

East-India Company had lent the Government above 3000000 *l.* Sterling at several times.

THE Secretary was very attentive, and thanked me for what I had said, but for my Life I could not answer all the Objections which they started, even tho' they seemed to be satisfied; for said they, the Glory of the Emperor, which of all Things we ought to be most tender of, would upon any bad Success, by unforeseen Accidents be tarnished forsooth, *&c.*

BEING provoked with such trifling Arguments, I bid Mr. *Fury*, whom I entrusted with that Affair in my absence, tell them, that if such little Difficulties had been regarded in *Great-Britain*, when first they commenced their Trade, they would have been in as poor Circumstances still as the Emperor's Hereditary Countries.

HOWEVER I gratified them to obviate even this Objection, that they might delay the establishing of a Company for some time, and only grant Letters of Mart to Merchants to make a trial; which if they had good Success, would encourage his Imperial Majesty to grant the Privileges demanded; and then if they did not like it, they might give it over, which would save their Glory, which they were so very tender of from losing any of its Lustre.

UPON this, Letters of Mart were issued out to sundry People, who all went to the *East-Indies*,

dies, and returned to *Oſtend*, loaded with Joy and Profit.

SOME will perhaps find Fault, that I was ſo earneſt and inſtrumental to fix a Trade in the Emperor's Dominions; ſo very prejudicial to that of my Country.

I have this only to anſwer for myſelf, that it was contrived in the latter end of the late Reign; when my Friends and I apprehended the Pretender muſt inevitably aſcend the Throne; which muſt have certainly proved fatal to us, who had every way diſtinguiſhed ourſelves in Favour of the Illuſtrious-Houſe, if we had ſtayed at Home, and therefore deſigned to make *Flanders* our Place of voluntary Baniſhment, which we thought would not only intitle us to the Emperor's Favour, but alſo enable us to live handſomely in a Foreign Land, that ſo we might the ſooner forget our Native Country.

BUT, upon King GEORGE's Acceſſion to the Crown, I became very cool in this Affair; for then I thought all our Fears were removed, and ſo I dropt my Correſpondence with the Imperial Court as handſomely as I could.

I muſt own, it had been very diſhonourable to have acted any Thing to the Emperor's Prejudice, to whom I ſhall always acknowledge myſelf very much obliged; but at the ſame Time I thought it my Duty to let King GEORGE know of every Thing I had done at *Vienna*; and for that end, gave a Memorial to *Bernſdorf*, to be preſented to his

his Majesty, after he came to *Great-Britain*, not doubting, but proper Measures would have been taken for the publick Good of the Nation; but must own, it would be an Injury done to the King, to think that he received it, and I rather incline to believe, that *Bernsdorf* industriously avoided to inform his Majesty of what was doing at the Emperor's Court, so much to the disadvantage of *Great-Britain*, for Reasons best known to himself.

WITH Sorrow and Shame, I confess, that our *British* Ministry ought to have been acquainted with it, only that I had not then the least Suspicion, but all Means would have been used by their Advice, to prevent such Measures as had been followed Abroad to interrupt our Trade so effectually.

AND since I had a principal Hand in those Measures myself, I thought I was obliged to find out another Expedient, not only to preserve our *East-India* Company from the fatal Consequences of the Emperor's new-laid Scheme, but also to make even that Project turn to our Advantage.

FOR this End, in 1718, I sent for Mr. *Thomas Lewis*, who had for many Years faithfully served the *East-India* Company in an eminent Post, with Reputation, and shewed him the following Scheme, who said, he would lay it before Sir *Gregory Page*, to which I agreed, and was told afterwards that Sir *Gregory* desired me to meet with the said Mr. *Lewis*, who should have full Power to Treat upon that Affair, and intreated Secrecy.

MR.

MR. *Lewis* and I met ſeveral times upon it, but to no purpoſe, and at laſt we were told, that the Company was playing another Game, which I feared would turn to their own Prejudice, by applying to the Emperor's Miniſters; that they ſhould perſwade his Imperial Majeſty wholly to give it up, quite contrary to the Advice I had given them, and ſome convincing Reaſons why that Affair was to be treated upon with the Emperor himſelf.

I likewiſe feared that this Affair would take a quite different turn, to what they intended thereby; for by theſe ſtrenuous Solicitations, they would rather heighten the Emperor's Eſteem of it; and that the Bills they brought into the Houſe as a deſigned Remedy (whereupon there paſſed an Act of Parliament) would not prevent the Subjects of *Great-Britain* from being concerned in it, tho' under the Names of the Emperor's Subjects, and thus, I am alſo afraid, our *Eaſt-India* Company have loſt an Opportunity, which they will not recover, the *Oſtenders* and Others, concerned in that of the Emperor's, having found their Account of late ſo conſiderably in it.

AFTER all this, the Reader may eaſily ſee, with what Zeal and Induſtry I laboured to relieve our *Eaſt-India* Company from the Hardſhips they are now under, by their own Negligence, which if they do not take Care to amend, muſt ſoon reduce them to their Primitive Circumſtances.

THE Scheme I propoſed, was this, that the Company ſhould ſend a proper Perſon to *Vienna*, to procure a Charter, which I am ſure might have

have been obtained, nay, even in such Terms as would not interfere with the Regulations in the *English* Charter from his Imperial Majesty, to our British *East-India* Company, representing to him, that it would be of far greater Consequnce to the Emperor in their Hands, than many others, whereby a great many fatal Accidents would be avoided, which most Companies are subject to at their beginning, and much Time and Expences saved in bringing this to bear, which otherwise must be lost, in an Infant Company.

I offered my Service to the *East-India* Company to go to the Emperor, if they pleased, and undertook to perswade him, to agree to every Thing that would redound to their Advantage, with such Arguments as I was sure would prevail, by telling him, that the *Dutch* would give him all the uneasiness in the *East-Indies*, that was in their Power; that our British *East-India* Company had a very great Trade already; that they were Masters of both Forts and Forces, sufficient to protect them from the Insults of the *Dutch*, or any other Nation, and that he would find it very difficult to manage such Schemes and Projects of his own, if he did not come into my Proposals, to join his Company along with ours, as knowing that a long Course of Time would bring these Advantages to his Door, which I then offered him at first setting out, and by his agreeing with us, and putting it into the Hands and Management of a Company already formed; they would have no more to do, but increase their Shipping and Factories in these Ports, and make larger Contracts with the *Indian* Princes.

AND

AND to convince him of our Sincerity, that tha[t] *East-India* Company had no ſiniſter Deſign, by getting his Imperial Majeſty's Company into their Management, to act diſhonourably with him, I would tell him, that they could immediately lend him 100000 *l.* at an Intereſt of *6 per Cent.* to be paid out of the Duties ariſing from that Trade alone.

ALL this, and much more I laid before our *East-India* Company, with a Copy of the Memorial I deſigned to preſent the Emperor withal; and told them, I expected no Money till the Charter was procured, and even then I offered to leave it to their own Honour what Reward ſuch Services deſerved.

I convinced Mr. *Lewis*, their Secretary, what Advantages would accrue to them.

1. THE fixing ſo ſmall a Duty as abovementioned to the Emperor, would be ſuch a vaſt Profit, as muſt give them extraordinary Advantages, over all other *East-India* Companies yet in Being.

2. THEY would thereby have a larger Market for all theſe Commodities; not only in the Emperor's Hereditary Countries in *Germany*, but *Italy*, *Hungary*, *Flanders*, &c. would by this Charter become their Market, excluſive of all other *East-India* Goods not imported by that Company; and every Body knows what a vaſt Conſumption of *East-India* Goods there is in theſe Parts, where Pride and Vanity prevails.

3. THAT

3. THAT this Union of the Companies would not only deprive the *Dutch* of a large Market for their *East-India* Goods, but would check them from insulting, or offering to interrupt our Trade, as they have already done more than once, and are in a fair way to drive us entirely out of these Parts: *Amboyna* for that! But upon this Union, I believed they would scarce venture upon such Practices again; for the Emperor being Master of *Flanders*, it was in his Power to curb their Insolence by Land, and hoped it was still in our Power to do the same by Sea.

4. THAT upon this, the Price of the *East-India* Stocks would rise considerably, as appears by the late Union of the *East* and *West-India* Companies in *France*.

5. BY this likewise, would the Subjects of the Emperor's Dominions in *Flanders*, not only be prevented from getting Navigation into their Hands, which if they had, would be very prejudicial to *Great-Britain*, but our own would be very much increased.

AND lastly, by the Emperor's having such Dependance upon us, we should not only keep him our fast Friend, but should also oblige the *Dutch* to come into what Measures we pleased.

THUS I have sincerely discharged my Duty, and shall leave the Reader to his own Reflections, being sorry that those who were the principal Directors of our *East-India* Company did not take Care to prevent this Blow in time; for the Empe-

Emperor's *Eaſt-India* Company will have ſuch Advantages over ours, as we can never retrieve by the vaſt Diſparity of Duties, which will enable them to underſell us, and deprive us of ſuch a vaſt compaſs of Ground, as we can never expect henceforth to make any Markets in: Repreſenting alſo to Sir *Gregory Page*, that this Company, when it ſhould be eſtabliſhed, would have another Advantage, as being fixed in a Country, endowed with Privileges and Immunities, where Liberty and Property is inſured; ſo that it will be ſettled on as firm a Baſis, as either the Companies of *Great-Britain* or *Holland*, and will be much preferable, even to that of *France* in this Particular; for whatever Freedoms and Privileges the Emperor ſhall grant to them, cannot be liable to be revoked, or to ſuffer any Hardſhips, as if it had been fixed in any other of his Imperial Majeſty's Countries, or even any Nation under Arbitrary Government; the Liberties of *Flanders* having been perfectly ſecured, and the Subjects in the peaceable Poſſeſſion of their Properties for a long time together.

THAT the Emperor was very fond of this undertaking, which the aſſiduous Solicitations of the *Eaſt-India* Companies of *Great-Britain* and *Holland* had contributed to, and for that end he long ago declared his Inclinations to introduce and encourage Trade in his Dominions; being ſenſible that nothing elſe hath rendered both *Britain* and *Holland* ſo conſiderable, by inviting Merchants from all other Countries to ſettle in his, and granting them what Privileges they demand, nay, every Thing to facilitate and advance

vance Trade and Navigation; whereof *Feums* in *Istria* upon the *Adriatick* is an Example, which is now made a Free Port with all the Franchises that Merchants can Desire; he likewise Favours the *Protestants*, and, in short, omits nothing that may conduce to this great end, which alarms the *Dutch*, *Venetians*, &c.

THAT his Imperial Majesty was constant and true to his Word, which I had abundant Testimonies of, when I was at his Court: And all these Advantages are vast Encouragements to this New Company in *Flanders*, which, no doubt, will be established with the Emperor's first Convenience.

IT was therefore in vain for us to hope he would proceed no farther than by granting Letters of Mart to Private Traders, because he cannot answer his first Intention, which moved him to grant it, otherwise than by forming it into a Company, which must be very valuable if the just Measures, and a proper Scheme be followed. And consequently that Trade would be a great Prejudice to the *English-East-India Company*, if the Charter should be granted to his own Subjects.

WE ought also to be aware of something else that seems to threaten our Trade from the Emperor's farther Designs, which, if we be not, will affect us very much, *viz.* His establishing a Trade to *Turkey*, which was agreed to at the late Treaty of *Passarowitz*, with the Grand Signior in 1717, where our Ambassadors were present as Mediators, upon more Advantagious Terms than hath,

been granted by the Port, to any Prince or State in *Europe*, which will bring immenſe Riches to his Imperial Majeſty, conſidering the noble convenient Opportunities he hath to convey Goods through his Country by the help of great Rivers, particularly the *Danube*, which is Navigable fifteen hundred *Engliſh* Miles, and empties it ſelf into the *Black Sea*, where great flat bottom Boats run down quick, only by the help of the Stream, whereby all Goods can be conveniently carried into any Part of *Turkey*.

THAT the Staple of Wool, was alſo once in *Flanders*; and I do not ſee what is to hinder the Emperor from erecting a Woolen Manufactury there now; whereby not only many Places in *Germany*, *Hungary*, &c. may be ſupplied by the Rivers abovementioned, but even *Turkey* it ſelf much cheaper than we.

ALL theſe Things conſidered, in my humble Opinion, we have not ſo much Reaſon to be alarm- at his Imperial Majeſty's turning his Thoughts ſo much upon Trade, as either *Holland*, *Venice*, or any of his Neighbours.

HE hath very lately formed a Company at *Vienna*, to carry on their Trade to the *Levant*; hath himſelf Subſcribed 100000 Florins, as many of his Miniſters and Courtiers have alſo done, for which, a Court of Directors is conſtituted, and a Preſident named, to regulate that Commerce.

HE

HE is also endeavouring to engage the other Princes of the Empire, to Subscribe for raising a Stock to Encourage that Trade; which the *Turks* are so well pleased with, that great Numbers of their Merchants are arrived for that end in the Neighbourhood of *Belgrade:* And when he grants Liberty of Conscience in any of his Dominions, especially in *Flanders*, no Doubt, but the *Dutch* themselves would remove thither, if it were only to be relieved of the great Taxes and Oppression, they are necessarily under to their States, for their own Preservation: The Reasons are very evident, as his Advantages by granting such Liberty will be very great, for he knows very well, that nothing else hath made *Amsterdam* so Considerable: And if *Hamburgh* had followed the same Measures, it would have been rather more; and it is also plain, that he is taking quite different Measures, especially in Matters of Religion and Trade, and very probably will be found to be the greatest Prince, having the most just, and noble Views of any Monarch that ever Swayed the Imperial Scepter since *Charles* V.

I shall now proceed to give an Account, how, and by what Means the Private Trade from *Ostend* to the *Indies* came to be erected into a Company, by his Imperial Majesty, but previously I must acquaint my Reader, that in an Audience, I had the Honour to have with the *Emperor*, in 1714, he was pleased to lay his Commands upon me, to have a watchful Eye on every Opportunity that might tend to his Service, appointing me a certain Canaile, whereby I was to communicate my Advices immediately to himself, through the Hands

of one Confidant; for added he, when any thing comes to his Miniſtry, in the ordinary way of Buſineſs, it generally takes Wind, and becomes good for nothng; but when he came immediately to himſelf, he knew how to make the proper uſe of ſuch.

IN the Year 1720, when the *Miſſiſſippi* Scheme had juſt miſcarried in *France*; and that of the *South-Sea* was ſo vigorouſly carrying on in *England*; I was informed, that ſome *Engliſh*, and other *Stock-Jobbers*, were gone to *Flanders*, with a Deſign to draw in the Marquis *De Prie* into their dangerous Meaſures; and having been always an Enemy, both to the ſaid *French* and *Engliſh* Schemes, which I was never able to reconcile to my poor Underſtanding.

I thought it my Duty in Obedience to my Promiſe to the Emperor, to endeavour to ſtop this wicked Deſign; wherefore I went to *Bruſſels* to prevent, if poſſible, the Introduction of any fatal Schemes, unto his Imperial Majeſty's Dominions: Reſolving, if I found the Marquis poſſitive to Eſtabliſh a Company of Commerce in the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, to offer him ſuch a Scheme as I could anſwer for, both to the Emperor, and my own Conſcience.

UPON my Arrival, I found the Marquis juſt taking Coach to go to *Aix la Chapelle* for the recovery of his Health; I immediately followed, and found him at *Judoigne*, where he preſently began to play the Stateſman with me, for indeed he was a conſummate one: So not knowing what

what to make of him, whether he designed any Company or not, I took my Leave of him, giving him at the same time, the Scheme I had composed for the Emperor's Service, and returned to *London* the beginning of *September* 1720, from whence, without any loss of Time, I wrote to Prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*; giving him an Account of my late Journey to *Flanders*, and of what had passed between the Marquis *De Prie* and me, and sent him also an exact Copy of the Memorial and Scheme I had left with the Marquis *De Prie*.

ABOUT six Weeks afterwards I received a very pressing Letter from a Gentleman at *Brussels*, desiring me to make all the haste I could to that City, for he had something of very great Importance to communicate to me: I thought I had done enough to discharge my Promise to the Emperor, and was unwilling to move any more in that Affair; therefore returned an Apology, and a cool Answer to the aforesaid Gentleman, excusing my not going over, but my Excuses could not be received; for I had a second Letter, pressing my hastening over, assuring me no Excuses would be admitted; for there was a Person of the first Rank, appointed to confer with me upon an Affair which nighly concerned the Emperor: I did not obey this Letter, but at last received a third, couched in such Terms as I could not any longer decline going over.

UPON my Return to *Brussels*, my Correspondent told me, It was not the Marquis *De Prie*, but the Count *De Windisgratz*, the Emperor's

firſt Commiſſioner of the enſuing Congreſs of *Cambray*, and who was then at *Bruſſells*, and the Velt *Marſhal Vellen*, that had called me over, in order to Confer with me upon the Subject of eſtabliſhing a Company of Commerce in the *Auſtrian Netherlands*; the two Counts, and I, met accordingly, and after ſome Conference, they deſired me to form a proper Scheme for erecting a Company of Commerce, and a Draught of a Charter to be granted by the Emperor, which they were to take care to lay before his Imperial Majeſty, in Order for his Approbation; withal, they deſired I would keep my Buſineſs very Private from every Body, telling me, at the ſame time, that the Marquis *De Prie* was to know nothing of it, and that he had always been an Enemy to erecting of a Company in theſe Provinces, becauſe, thereby, he would be deprived of the Means of exacting, yearly, very large Sums from the Private Traders to the *Eaſt-Indies*, for their Private Commiſſions, which he, as Deputy Governour of the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, was authoriſed to give out, I was thus prevailed upon to compoſe a Scheme for erecting the ſaid Company of Commerce, and a proper Charter to be paid before his Imperial Majeſty; during all which time, I could not forget the many Ungentlemanlike Treatments I had ſo lately received from our *Engliſh Eaſt-India Company*.

I was ſenſible that the Succeſs of all great Undertakings conſiſted in Secrecy; and in ſuch a cautious and prudent Conduct, as all the Art and cunning of its Enemies, ſhould not be able to prevent the Execution thereof; for Experience hath often

often proved, that a Wound given to any undertaking in its Infancy, generally proves Mortal.

I was aware of the Enemies of this Infant-Company, but especially the *Dutch*; who, I knew would stick at nothing, by fair or foul Means to destroy a Trade, that interfered with them. Therefore in order to prevent their taking such Methods, as would in time destroy this new Company, I took care in my Scheme and Charter, industriously to lay a great stress upon the *East-India* Trade, mentioning as little of the *West-Indies* as possible, and yet enough to authorise the Company to put in Execution, what really I intended for their Service; for what I had principally in View, was all along chiefly in the *West-Indies* intending, the *East-India* Trade in a great Measure, as a Blind to cover my real Design, and to render this new Company's Enemies secure in these Parts, where I resolved they should make their principal Settlements.

I was always of the Opinion, that the Trade which encourageth the consumption of the Native product of a Country, and the manufacturing thereof at Home, the Exportations thereof to Foreign Countries, where they are wanted, and that which in Return, Imports these Commodities that are wanting in *Europe*, and the Ballance in *Specie* must certainly be the only Trade to enrich that Country: And the Trade which Exports little or nothing but Bullion, and Imports in Return, only Superfluities to support Luxury, must certainly be Pernicious, and at last Fatal.

THAT the *Dutch* Trade to the *East-Indies* was really in Effect no Exception to this Rule; for it is to be considered, that by their being Masters of a vast Continent in the *East-Indies*, and having there almost as many Subjects as in *Europe*, those Advantages give them Opportunity to send thither, great Quantities of *European* Commodities; which prodigiously lessens the Export of their Bullion, besides that, they are Masters of all the Spice-Islands: But the *English* and other *European* Companies, who have only a few Forts and Factories in the *East-Indies*, would be Grievances, if the Luxury of this Age had not now made this Trade necessary.

I was also apprized, that an *East-India* Trade would prove more hurtful to the Emperor's Subjects than to the *English*, because the *English* have a vast extensive Trade to most Parts of the World, and in most of them, the Ballance on their side; whereby any Loss on our side from the *East-Indies* is insensible, and not felt by us, whereas the Emperor's Countries have very little Trade, whereby supplies of Money are Imported; therefore I believed an annual Loss of *Specie*, would soon empty these Countries of the little Money they had Current among them.

FOR these Reasons I had my Eye principally upon the *West-Indies*, and had pitched upon a certain Island, situated pretty nigh the *Spanish-West-India* Coast, at present in the Possession of no *European* Prince or State, and which none could pretend any Right or just Title to, having an Excellent Harbour, and capable of being made te-

nable

nable in a little time: But knowing that nothing could be kept a Secret, after it had been presented to the Emperor's Cabinet-Council, and before a Court of Directors, I took the Method I have mentioned, since the last Discovery might have ruined what I intended; which in few Words, was, that this new Company, under the Colour and Pretence of making two Settlements in the *East-Indies*, should have fitted out a few Ships with a competent Number of Hands Aboard, consisting chiefly of Soldiers, Artificers and Amunition; with all Necessaries, Provisions, and Arms, who under the aforesaid Cover should have sailed to the *West-Indies*, and have taken Possession of the aforesaid Island, and thereupon, so soon as this Island was fortified, and made tenable, that the Emperor should declare it a free Port for all Nations to come and Trade in, upon Payment of a small moderate Duty, and also for all sorts of Persons of what Denomination and Quality soever, to resort to, and live in unmolested, both as to Body and Effects, upon paying a Capitation Tax; which Island would consequently have been the greatest Magazine and Storehouse of all the Product of *America*, and also of Money, to have exchanged their Commodities for those of *Europe*, especially those of the Emperor's Countries, which would not have been in the Power of all the Governors in these Parts to have prevented: Because a private Trade is not easily hindered, when an Advantage is found by it; which would have been very great in this Case, because it came from the first Hand, so that here would have been a Market for all the Linnen, Cambricks, Laces, Stuffs *&c.* that the Emperor's Countries are able to produce

duce and Manufacture, and they again be supplied from their own *American* Market in Return, with the valuable and substantial Commodities in *America*, and the Ballance in *Specie*.

I believe all this might have been brought about without any great Expence, for by taking care to establish an easy form of Government, the People would have flocked from all the Neighbouring Colonies, who very often labour under Grievances by the Oppression of many of the Governours; for it is well known, that nothing but the Severity of the Governours, forced several of the People, in these Parts, to turn *Pyrates*.

WHAT might have discouraged me from proposing this to the Emperor, was, the Opposition it would at that time have met with from the *Spaniard*: But having, for several Years, carried on a Correspondence with several Persons, who had travelled over the *Spanish-West-Indies*, by which Means I had attained to good Knowledge of those Countries, and of their true Strength, and the Situation of their Affairs with the *Indians*, whereby I was in a Condition to satisfy his Imperial Majesty, there were at least forty *Natives* to one *Spaniard*, and such irreconcilable Enemies to them, that they were ready and willing, upon the least Occasion, to Rise, and join with any who would lead them on, and assist them in overcoming their Tyrannical Masters, and dispossess them at once. A *Scotsman* particularly, with that View, travelled all over the *Spanish-West-Indies*, and was long conversant with the *Natives*: This Gentlemen told me, that the *Indians* had assured him, that the *Spaniards* had

had not yet discovered the Eighth Part of the Mines, and that the Richest were still concealed; and that they would never make any more of them known to the *Spaniards*; who instead of rewarding, continue to put them to the Torture, to Discover the rest; especially those of Gold, an Error which none but the blinded *Spaniard* would be guilty of: That the *Indians* farther assured my Friend, that if the King of *Great-Britain*, or any other *European* Prince, would take them under his Protection, and furnish them with some Officers and Arms for that Effect, and allow them the property of the Mines yet undiscovered, they would freely give a fifth Part to such Prince so protecting them, and work the Mines at their own Cost, in which Case they would use and wear our *European* Commodities, and pay for them to their Deliverers, at any Rate; and that if they knew of better Masters, with a small Assistance, they would be able to expel the *Spaniards* out of many Parts themselves, and that even the *American Spaniards*, were weary of the Oppressions and Hardships they met with from Old *Spain*; and would make but a feeble Resistance against the House of *Austria:* He had assured me farther, that if the *Spaniards* should attempt to disturb the Emperor in his *American* Settlement, or *European* Dominions; he would want no more to make as sudden a Revolution in New *Spain*, as hath already happened in *Portugal*; only to send to New *Spain* a few Arms, Ammunition, Officers, and Manifestoes, proclaiming Liberty, and Property, in the *Spanish-West-Indies*.

I believe no Body at that time had any Proſpect of a Treaty of Peace and Commerce between their Imperial and Catholick Majeſties, or that a firm Friendſhip, and good Underſtanding, could have been eſtabliſhed on the Baſis it now is between them; and having been always of the Opinion, that it was not the Intereſt of *Great-Britain*, thoſe two powerful Monarchs ſhould unite theirs: I took the Courſe I have mentioned, to be an effectual way to prevent it, and this would put the Emperor under the farther Neceſſity of courting the Friendſhip of *Great-Britain*; whoſe Intereſt alſo it would have been, to have ſupported the Emperor in *America*, as well as they had done in *Europe*; becauſe the greateſt Part of the Advantages ariſing from this new Settlement and Trade of the Emperor's, would have come into the Hands of the *Engliſh*.

I propoſed alſo in my Scheme, to eſtabliſh a Bank in the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, quite upon a different Foundation from theſe of *England*, *Holland*, *Venice*, and *Genoa*; which I did not doubt, but it might have been made a very flouriſhing one, and to anſwer Expectation, and would hardly have been weakened in its Credit.

HAVING thus given an Account of what I intended, this I concealed for the Reaſons abovementioned: I preſented the Scheme and Charter to the two Counts, ſo ſoon as I had finiſhed them, telling them at the ſame time, that there was a Neceſſity I ſhould explain myſelf upon theſe Papers; I had then the Honour to give them; but that I would not diſcover the real meaning of them

them to any but the Emperor himself, because the Success of the whole depended upon Secrecy; I added, my Affairs called me to *England*, but I would return so soon as they thought it proper to send these Papers to the Emperor, and that I would be the Bearer of them myself, in order to discharge my Duty to his Imperial Majesty; all which being thus settled and agreed to between the aforesaid twoCounts and me; they gave me a Writing under their Hands to Interest myself and Friends into the equal half of the capital Stock of the said Company: So I took my Leave and departed from *Brussels*. I arrived in *London* the 26th of *March* 1721, But I must return a little to acquaint my Reader, that when I was admitted at *Brussels*, there came a Gentleman from *Paris* to that Place, Mr. *John Colebrooke*, who taking up his Loding at the same *Hotel* where I did, he found some Persons of Distinction resort to me, and that I had in a manner withdrawn myself from ordinary Conversation: He being a cunning Man, and perfect Master of the Art of *Stock-Jobbing*; took all the Ways imaginable to find out what it was, I was so much busied about, and at last I found the young Man who was my *Amanuensis*, had used some indiscreet Freedom with him; I thought it was my best way to make him my Friend, and engage him to me, so calling on Mr. *Colebrooke*, I told him, after a little necessary Introduction, that my Time had been intirely taken up, since my arrival at *Brussels*; in forming a Scheme and Charter to be granted by the Emperor, for erecting a new Company of Commerce in the *Austrian Netherlands*; and the Reason of my communicating so much to him, was, that by the

Conversation

Converſation I had with him, I believed him capable of being very uſeful in the practical Part of Trade, to which I was a Stranger, as being only a Country Gentleman, and if he would be faithful to me, I would give him Opportunities of making Money enough to himſelf; which would be his true Intereſt, but if otherwiſe, or if he endeavoured to Supplant me, and Abuſe my Confidence in him, he would find Shame and Diſgrace attend ſuch Practices; for neither He, nor any Man but myſelf, knew the meaning of my Scheme, and there was a material Difference between the Letter and Spirit thereof, which would prove fatal to him, and diſcover him to be a Cheat, but Mr. *Colebrooke* taking the deepeſt Engagements of Fidelity, I left him behind me.

UPON my Arrival at *London*, I found the Britiſh Parliament enacting ſome Penalties upon ſuch as ſhould be concerned in the Trade from *Oſtend* to the *Eaſt-Indies*; but this was not the only diſcouragement I met with, for ſoon after this, I received Advice from *Bruſſells*, that Mr. *Colebrooke* was playing Falſe with me, and had found Means to get himſelf introduced to the Two Counts, and by his Art, and cunning Contrivances, inſinuated himſelf ſo far, as to be intruſted to Peruſe the Scheme and Charter I had left behind me, and had Aſſurance enough, to make ſeveral Alterations in thoſe Papers; whereby the Deſign I had of preventing the bad Conſequences of *Stock-Jobbing* as far as could conſiſt with the uſe of Property, was intirely cut off, and ſeveral Gaps opened for Private Ends, which I had in mind carefully guarded againſt, taking all the Pains I could to unite

unite and cement the ſeveral Intereſts of the Emperor, as Soveraign, the Country and Company by giving each of them the Means of finding of their Account therein, and in ſuch an equal manner, as none of the Three ſhould have any juſt Reaſon to Envy or Grudge one another their ſeveral Advantages, which I believed would prove a very ſtrong Foundation, for a Company of Commerce which was every Body's Intereſt to Support.

MR. *Colebrooke*, being fluſhed with theſe unexpected Succeſſes, procured alſo, in a little time, himſelf to be intruſted with the Papers, and was ſent with them by the two Counts to *Vienna*, with ſtrong Letters of Recommendation from them to the Count de *Sinzendorff*.

I was very quickly apprized of all theſe Proceedings from *Bruſſells*, and very uneaſie thereupon; knowing well, that Mr. *Colebrooke*, without giving myſelf any Trouble, would very ſoon confound and undo himſelf; ſo I compoſed myſelf, reſolving to give Him full Liberty to follow his own Methods. I intended to give myſelf no farther Trouble in thoſe Affairs, which had been ſo very Troubleſome and Expenſive to me.

So ſoon as the News was ſpread about, that Mr. *Colebrooke* was gone to *Vienna*, to procure the Charter from the Emperor, the *Eaſt-India* Companies of *England* and *Holland* took the Alarm; for in the Month of *October*, 1721, Mr. *Thomas Lewis*, before mentioned came to my Lodgings

Lodgings, and had a long Conference with me about the *Oſtend* Affairs; he regretted very much their Companies not going into the Meaſures I had ſometime before propoſed, to procure them the Charter from the Emperor: I anſwered, That might eaſily have been done, and believed myſelf capable of unhorſing *Colebrooke*, and of doing that Favour ſtill, if I were not now rendered uncapable of it, by the late Act of Parliament, which the *Eaſt-India* Company themſelves had been ſo very Induſtrious to procure.

He asked me if I thought there might be ſtill any Means left to prevent the Emperor's granting the Charter: I told him there was, and that the *Oſtenders* Trade to the *Eaſt Indies* might be laid aſide, and that it was to no purpoſe to trouble him with it; for there was no Dealing with his Maſters upon a Gentleman-like Footing; nor did I believe I could have any Credit in ſerving them, and that he himſelf knew very well how they had uſed me three Years ſince, he ſaid the Caſe was changed, and that he really believed they would now act more ſincerely, and generouſly with me than they had formerly done.

He at laſt prevailed with me to agree to meet with two of their principal Directors; whereupon I drew up in Writing my Propoſal, and the Method how I intended to manage it, and the Arguments I would make uſe of to induce his Imperial Majeſty to agree to a Suppreſſion of a Trade from *Oſtend* to the *Eaſt-Indies*; and how eaſy it was for me to diſcredit Mr. *Colebrooke*. Mr. *Lewis* in a few Days came and carried me to the

Eaſt-

East-India House, there I met with two very great Men of the Company, in one of the inner Chambers, where, after the necessary previous Discourse, Mr. *Lewis* read my Papers before them, which they seemed wonderfully to approve, and desired I would agree to go to *Vienna* my self, and manage that Business; I told them, my own private Affairs called me to *Scotland*, and it would be of great Prejudice to me, if I neglected to hasten to that Country, where an Affair of great Importance, to me, was come to a Crisis, and run a great Risque of losing it, if I was not very soon in that Country: But, if they were resolved to send me to *Vienna*, I would endeavour to engage a Gentleman in the *Middle-Temple*, who had been my Counsellor for many Years, and agree with him, upon reasonable Terms to go to *Scotland* to supply my Place, he having a perfect Knowledge of my Affairs: But I told them, I expected they would reimburse me what Money I should give him on that Account, which they promising to do, I accordingly, in a few Days, agreed with the foresaid Gentleman for one Hundred and Fifty Pounds for his Journey and Stay in *Scotland*, which could not be less than six Months.

IN three or four Days after, the same Gentlemen, of the *East India* Company, and I, met again, when they asked me what I demanded for these Services? I Answered, I wanted only to be indemnified, and to have, in Hand, a reasonable Sum of Money to provide a suitable Equipage, and to bear my Charges till my return to *London*, and then, if I had Success, I would leave it to any reasonable Man, to determine what I should

deſerve; They agreed readily to this, and then deſired me to uſe all the Means I could think of, to put a ſtop to the Charters going out, till I ſhould arrive at *Vienna*.

I ſhall not be ſo Vain, as to ſay my Means put a ſtop to it, but its certain, Means were uſed, and a ſtop was put to it. At our next Meeting, they told me, the Affair was laid before the Court of Directors, and an Order given to iſſue out Money for that Purpoſe, and two other Directors were added to them, to finiſh what was requiſite at that time, in order to diſpatch me, and deſired I would be as quick as I could, in making the neceſſary Proviſion for my Journey; which accordingly I did, and thereby run my ſelf conſiderably in Debt, not then imagining I ſhould, afterwards, have it to pay out of my own Pocket. At laſt, juſt as I was expecting to be diſpatched, Letters came from Mr. *Coleman*, the *Britiſh* Reſident at *Vienna*, giving an Account, that juſt when it was expected the Charter would paſs the Emperor's Hand, *Colebrooke*, all of a ſudden, came under ſome Diſcredit at the Imperial Court, and that a ſtop was put to the paſſing of the Charter.

THE *Eaſt India* Company, as I ſuppoſe, (imagining this had proceeded from ſome other Motives and Endeavours than really it did) inſtead of meeting with me themſelves, they ſent Mr. *Lewis* to me, with my Papers, which they had in their Cuſtody, and bid him, in their Name, Thank me for all my kind Endeavours to ſerve the Company; But, that now there would be no Occaſion for giving my ſelf the Trouble of going to *Vienna* on

on their Account, for, that they had received the good News, that the Charter was dropped.

Mr. *Lewis* delivered me this Message, and the Papers, with a deep Concern, telling me, that he was ashamed to look me in the Face. I answered, he had no Reason to be so, but truly his Masters had; for they would find themselves in a Mistake, and that by what they had then done, they had lost their last Opportunity; adding, I would speak no more upon that Subject, for, they had, to say no worse of them, used me Barbarously, and very Unjustly, for, that he knew I had never received one Shilling of them, upon any Account whatsoever, first or last.

AT last, I found my self obliged to make an Apology to a certain great Man Abroad, and lay the Saddle upon the right Horse. I shall not insist any farther on this Subject, for every Body knows, that sometime after, the Charter came out, and the Company was erected in the *Austrian Netherlands*.

IT might be expected, that I should, in this Place, insert a true Copy of the Papers I gave to the Gentlemen of the *East-India* Company, the Minutes thereupon, together with their Names who treated with me; but being truly unwilling to expose any Set of Men, or Gentlemens Names, I have declined it, being now much broke in my Health, by the extraordinary Fatigues, both in Body and Mind, that by these Means, I have drawn upon me. I shall not give my self any farther Trouble in this, but am resolved to put them

into the Hands of two Friends, to do with them as they ſhall find Convenient for the Publick Service.

I ſhall therefore conclude, with giving my Reader a ſhort Account of the Fate of Mr. *John Colebrooke*, with whom it fared, juſt as I had foretold; for he came at laſt to be diſcovered, or, indeed rather he diſcovered himſelf, to be what he really was, whereupon, very ſoon after the arrival of the Charter at *Bruſſells*, for eſtabliſhing the *Eaſt-India* Company in the *Auſtrian Netherlands*, there came an Order from the Imperial Court, to ſeize upon the Perſon, and Papers of the ſaid Mr. *Colebrooke*, and, accordingly, a ſtrict ſearch was made for him, but he narrowly eſcaped out of the Emperor's Dominions, ſo leaving him to Travel in Foreign Parts, I ſhall ſay no more of him.

F I N I S.

INDEX.

A.

ANNE, *Queen, her Majesty's Privy-Seal to the Author* pag. 47
ARGYLE, *Duke of, his Conduct* 10, 110
AUTHOR's *Invitation to* Hanover *by the Princess* Sophia 83
— *His Speech to the* Emperor 85
— *Answer of his Imperial Majesty* 86
— *Sent the* Author *his Picture in Gold set round with Diamonds* 87
— *And his Interpreter a Gold Medal and Chain* ibid.
— *His Arrival at* Hanover 88
— *His Memorial* 89
— *A Second Memorial* 96
— *His second Arrival at* Hanover 117
— *His design in publishing these Memoirs* 122

B.

Barnstorf, *Baron, his Treatment* 89, 103
— *Letter to him* 104
— *A second Letter to him* 107
— *Sends for the Author to Court* 111
— *Refers him to Lord* Townshend 112
— *The Baron's ungenerous Behaviour* 119, 121
Bothmar, *Baron, his Advice to the Author* 76
British *Affairs, an impartial View thereof* 128, 139, 145

C.

CAMERONIANS, *their Original* 3
— *Their Predictions* 8

INDEX.

—*Their Piety* p. 12
—*Their Carriage* 17
—*The Author's Speech to them* 32
—*Their Confidence in him* 34
—*A Letter from the* Cameronians *to the* Author 68

E.

Edinburgh, *a Plot to surprize the Caſtle* 49
Emmeſen, *the Imperial Secretary, his Letter to the Author* 84
Emperor, *the Author's Negotiations with that Prince* 76
—*His Converſation with his Secretary* 78. *ſeq.*
Epiſcopacy *eſtabliſhed in* Scotland 1
Eugene, *Prince, his Reception of the Author* 77

G.

GEORGE, *King, preſents the Author with two Gold Medals* 93
—*And ſome time after with one hundred Dollars* 120
—*The Dutchies of* Bremen *and* Verden *purchaſed by His Majeſty* 125
—*Some Obſervations thereon* 126, 127
GODOLPHIN, *Earl of, his Conduct* 23, 51, 54, 57
—*Screened by the* Whig *Lords* 73
Gortz, *Baron, his great Civility* 102, 119, 145

H.

HAMILTON, *Duke of, his Conduct* 22, 25, 37, 38
Hanover, *an Account of that illuſtrious Houſe* 21, 70
Haverſham, *Lord, his Conduct* 66

I.

India-*Eaſt-Company, the Author's Propoſal to them* 155

K.

KER *of* Kerſland, *ſome Account of that Family* 3
King, *Sir* Peter, *his excellent Advice* 72
—*Made Lord Chancellor, his Character* 143

LAN-

INDEX.

L.

LAUDERDALE, *his Artifices to divide the* Scots p. 1
— *Succeeds therein* 2
Leibnitz, *an Interview with him* 77
— *Returns the* Author's *Visit* 78
— *Substance of their Conversation* 79
— *Letter to him* 94
— *His Answer* 100
— *Another Letter to him* 108
— *His Answer* 109
— *His Death and Character* 117

M.

Macclesfield, *Earl of, the just Proceedings against him* 143
Ministry, British, *their Vigilance* 142
MONMOUTH, *Duke of, his mistaken Politicks* 5
Muscovy, *Czar of, a View of his Affairs* 122, 127

O.

Ostend *Company, an Account of its Foundation and Progress* 149
Oxford, *late Earl of, his Conduct* 70, 73

P.

Pentland, *Rebellion there, quelled by General* Dalzeel 2
— *Some Account thereof* 3
Pretender, *his Attempt upon* Scotland 28, 45, 56, 62

Q.

QUEENSBERRY, *Duke of, his Conduct* 24, 30, 37, 40, 43, 51, 58

R.

Restauration, *State of* Scotland *at that Time* p. 1. *& seq.*
REVOLUTION, *the Effect it had upon the* Scots-*Nation* 10
— *Their Three Political Interests* 13
— *The* English *their Enemies upon mistaken Maxims* 17
R——, *Earl of, his Conduct* 24, 41, 43

Scots,

INDEX.

S.

Scots, *a View of their Affairs* p. 113, 131, *& seq.*
SHAFTESBURY, *his Politicks* 6
Somers, *Lord, his Conduct* 62
South-Sea *Scheme juſtly cenſured* 137
Squadrone Volante, *an Account of that Faction* 23
Sweden, *King of, a Survey of that Monarch's Affairs* 115, 122, 127

T.

Townſhend, *Lord, his Reception of the Author* 112
— *Letter to his Lordſhip* 116
— *His noble Stand againſt Foreigners* 139
Trevor, *Lord, made* Privy-Seal; *hopes therefrom* 144

U.

UNION, *Proceedings relating thereunto* 25
— *Confirmed.* 39

W.

Walpole, *Mr. his Conduct* 139
— *Suppreſſes the* Harburgh *Lottery* 141
— *Parallel between him and the Duke of* Marlborough 146
WHIGS *in Play, and Lord* Wharton *made Lieutenant of* Ireland 65
Wolfembuttel, *Author's Arrival at that Court* 120

FINIS.

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